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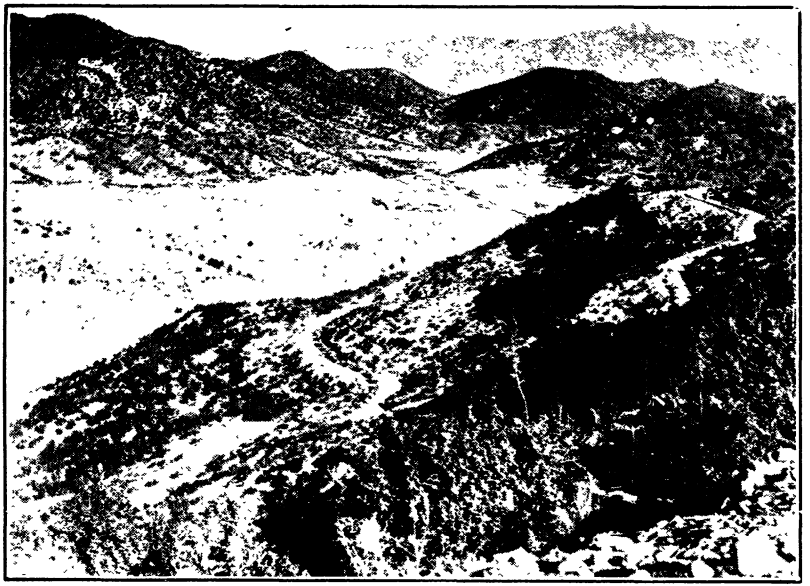
AFGHAN AND PATHAN

A Sketch.



On the way up to Razmak Narai from Razani, Waziristan
Cameronians on the March

Afghan and Pathan

A Sketch.

By
GEORGE B. SCOTT, C.I.E.
Author of TWENTY YEARS ON THE N.W. FRONTIER.

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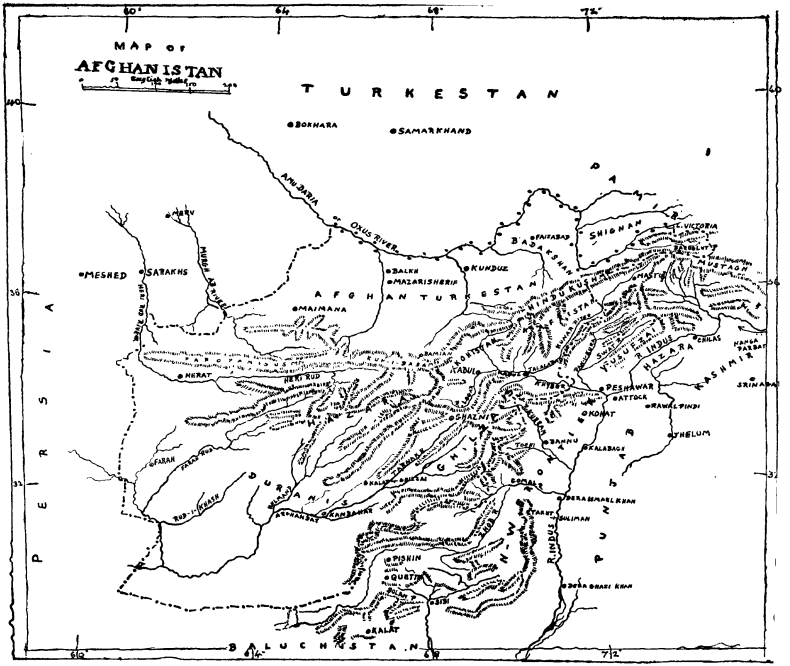


Sketch Map by Author showing Principal Tribal Locations.

AFGHANISTAN.

PART I.

THE Indian Empire being one of the most important of the great Dominions included in the British Empire, all who are interested in the future welfare of India cannot but feel anxious as to the probable results of the alterations in progress in the Government and Constitution of the countries called India. One of these causes of anxiety is the possibility of the invasion and conquest of those countries by others if the strong hand of Britain, that for nearly a century has kept India free from internal wars and foreign invasions, is withdrawn or even weakened. For many centuries, before the first invasion of India by the followers of Islam in the first years of the 11th century of our era, the rulers of India were almost exclusively Rajput kings and princes, with Brahmin advisers and ministers. Occasionally some great personality, Chandragupta, Asoka or Kanishka, after years of fierce and cruel wars, brought the greater part of India under one sovereign, but the death of these rulers was soon followed by the dis-

confused mass of mountain ranges or spurs, intersected at intervals by numerous dips or cols or passes, known in Persian as Kotals, in Pushto as Kandaos, and enclosing hundreds of glens and defiles winding between them in every direction. Down the glens and defiles run the numerous streams fed by the perpetual snows of the more elevated regions, and the winter snows that cover the whole country down to about 3,000 feet for several months every year. These streams combine and form the rivers that flow down and irrigate sometimes broad open valleys, sometimes narrow glens and rocky defiles; and eventually find their way into the plains and deserts of Turkestan, Persia, Baluchistan and the Punjab. The northern drainage of the Hindu Kush falls in several watercourses between broad spurs and finally into the Oxus river. The province is known as Afghan Turkestan, portion of the ancient Kingdom of Bactria, of which the principal districts are Wakhan, Badakshan and Balkh.

Wakhan is almost entirely pastoral, where nomad Kirghiz Turkomans graze their camels, flocks and herds. Badakshan too is mountainous but several of the stream beds widen out before entering the Oxus, and here considerable areas of terraced fields and fruit orchards are cultivated by Tajiks, a non Afghan, Persian race, speaking that language, and of the Shiah sect of Islam.

The Tajiks are considered a peace-loving and industrious race of whom there are large communities cultivating the soil in Balkh, Jelalabad and other large

valleys, as tenants in Balkh of Uzbek, and elsewhere of Afghan landlords. The province of Balkh, with its present capital, Mazar-i-Sharif, has several smaller towns and numerous villages and large cultivated areas, especially along the course of the Oxus and its tributaries, and is the home of the Uzbek Turkomans, as landlords, with Tajik peasantry. The province known as Afghan Turkestan, including Balkh and other districts, formed part of the Persian Empire when Alexander the Great made his eastern conquests. Here he established a Macedonian centre and left there his sick and disabled soldiers before his farther advance. After his death it formed part of the Kingdom of Seleucus and his successors for some two centuries, during which period their sway was at times extended down the Kabul and Jelalabad valleys and probably as far as the Indus. Though expelled by the Rajputs or the Buddhist Emperor Kanishka, the statues and architectural remains excavated from the ruins of Takht-i-Bahi and other Buddhist and Hindu cities show unmistakable Grecian influence.

In the 7th and 8th centuries of our era, Moslem conquerors included the province in their conquests, and Balkh was long a capital city of Persian and Turkoman rulers and was famous for its universities. On the break-up of the Persian Empire it long remained independent of foreign control under its own Uzbek chieftains and lost its importance. About 1850 it was conquered and annexed to Afghanistan by Dost Mahomed. Since then it has been at least nominally

an Afghan province. The Uzbek chiefs pay a yearly tribute, and when called on send a contingent of fighting men, and more than once have afforded a refuge to defeated adventurous claimants to the Afghan throne. The dread of falling under Russian control keeps them loyal.

The numerous streams that drain the southern slopes of the western section of the main range, combine and form several of the rivers that drain and irrigate the country to the south and west. The most northern of these is the Hari Rud which, after running along the southern base of the Band-i-Baba for some two to three hundred miles in a narrow valley, enters the open country above the town of Herat and, after passing that city, turns north, and, breaking through a gorge in the mountain barrier, flows on to lose itself in Turkestan, after irrigating a large famously fertile area in the Herat and Sabzwar districts of Khorasan. Farther west, taking a south-westerly course, are the Farah and Helmund rivers, which, rising in the high ranges, finally lose themselves in the Hamuns or marches of Seistan, the Helmund being received into the next river, the Arghandab, which, rising in the hills round Ghazni, flows south to Kandahar, then in a large curve westward passes through a desert area into the Hamun. The mountains and plateaux, where these rivers have their sources, are now known as the Hazarajat, occupied by Hazaras, Aimaks and Taimuni tribes, apparently of Mongol origin, of fine sturdy physique, very similar to the Chitralis, Baltis and others east, and probably

of the same race, not Afghan; have a dialect of their own, and are of the Shiah sect. They are best known as the constructors of the *Karez*, or underground irrigation channels, found in the larger cultivated areas. They are considered good soldiers, especially as Pioneers, but on two occasions in recent years they have resisted conscription by open rebellions, which were crushed with cruel severity, by Shere Ali and Abdur Rahman.

But what gives the region watered by these rivers historical importance is that here was long the little kingdom of Ghour—a very early, if not the original home of the Afghan tribes of Abdulli, which, with some others, claim to be Ben-i-Israel or Israelites—and to which tribe belong the two recent reigning families of Saduzai and Barukzai.

The several streams that, uniting, form the Arghandab that passes through and irrigates portions of the Kandahar province on the south, take their rise in a watershed of the hills round Ghazni, some 200 miles north-east of Kandahar. Ghazni was once the capital of an Empire, defended by a fortress long considered impregnable, now fallen from its glory. It is situated on the watershed of the Arghandab and its affluents, the Chakardeh, Tarnak, Lorah and others, flowing in a southerly direction, and those of the Kabul river flowing north and east. Here are several broad and fertile valleys, enclosed by parallel mountain ranges or spurs. That of the Tarnak, starting near Ghazni, at an elevation of 8,000 feet above sea, runs for about 200 miles to Kandahar, 3,000 feet, having an average breadth of

about twenty miles. Parallel to it is the somewhat similar valley of the Lorah, which, starting in the broad Zarmat valley north east of Ghazni, flows into and out of the lake known as the Ab-Istadah, or "standing water," the meeting place of the Kafilahs or caravans of Povindahs when preparing to start for India.

These, and neighbouring valleys and glens, with the country farther north and east, are the home of the great Ghalzai tribe of Afghans.

From the northern slopes of the Ghazni watershed run the streams that form the Logar river, flowing down the valley to the city of Kabul, 80 to 90 miles, and, but for the intervening watershed, might be considered a northerly continuation of the Tarnak Valley. It was up the Tarnak and down the Logar that the British force advanced on Kabul in 1837. Along the same route Sir Donald Stewart fought his way to Kabul in 1879; and it was on the reverse way that Sir Frederick Roberts made his famous but less venturesome march to Kandahar in 1880.

The Logar flows past the city of Kabul, and, continuing north some twenty miles, is there joined by the Panjshir, which, with affluents, drains the hills to the north of Kabul, across which runs the main road to Balkh over the Bamian pass, 14,000 feet in elevation. The valleys of the Logar and Panjshir are some of the richest and most densely peopled in the country. The Afghan tribes of these regions, with the Ghilzai and Abdalli or Durani, form the main strength and support of the Afghan rulers. After the junction the combined

waters, as the Kabul river, pass down a narrow defile into the Jelalabad valley, enclosing that valley on the north for about 100 miles to Dakka, the frontier Afghan cantonment, then through thirty miles of a narrow tortuous defile north of the Khyber Valley, enters the Peshawar Valley at Michni and flows onwards to the Indus at Attok.

Between the junction with the Panjshir and Dakka, the Kabul river receives the Alishang, Alingar and the Kunar rivers with their affluents. The Kunar is the southern portion of the Chitral, or Kashkar river, and the heights to the east of it now form the limit of the Afghan jurisdiction. These rivers drain the southern slopes of the Hindu Kush, a mountainous region that was long under the name of Kafiristan or Infidel land, considered a geographical and ethnological puzzle. It was conjectured that here would be found the last remnants of Grecian or Macedonian colonisation and culture, till Sir George Robertson, from Chitral, explored some of the eastern glens. It was then found that the Siahposh Kafirs, as they were called, were probably the remnants of a race similar to the Chitralis, Baltis, etc., who lived in a most primitive state, secluded in elevated glens approachable only up narrow rocky defiles, or over snow-clad mountains, and had escaped the attention of Islamic conquerors, who had considered these wild glens not worth troubling about while engaged in plundering India or fighting each other. Towards the close of the last century the Amir Abdul Rahman, having brought his country into order, sent his troops

into Kafiristan and added the country and people to Islam. So that whatever ancient customs had survived will now have vanished.

In 1879, while Sir Sam Browne's column occupied Jelalabad, Col. Tanner, of the Survey of India, made a bold attempt to penetrate into Kafiristan, accompanied by two stalwart pensioned Pathan officers of the Indian Army, and a small party of Nimchas, (half-blood Kafir Moslems). He dressed as a well-to-do Pathan, but was unable to speak Pushto, and Persian and Hindustani were not understood by his Nimcha attendants. He took with him a large consignment of *lungis* (embroidered turbans) and other knick-knacks as presents for prospective guides and hosts. The disguise was a failure. The intended presents aroused the cupidity of the Nimchas ; and, but for the two Pathans, and the Chief of a neighbouring Afghan valley, he would probably never have returned.

In Moslem countries, especially, an explorer should not attempt disguise unless in addition to being able to converse fluently and idiomatically with the country folk he has a practical acquaintance with the ordinary habits and especially religious ritual. For instance, he should know whether his arms or feet should be washed first before daily prayers, his right or left limb first. The Sunni washes his arms from elbow to wrist downwards, the Shiah does it the reverse way. The lie of the hair on the bare arms reveals the sect to the curious observer. He should know exactly when to raise or lower his head, kneel, lie prostrate and stand ;

and when to turn his face to the four quarters, with the prescribed ejaculations, etc. A failure in these particulars may raise suspicion, ending in a demand for ocular demonstration as to proof of circumcision. If the explorer is undisguised he might be shot by some enemy of his host; but if he escapes this, he will at least have the prestige of a British officer, be treated with respect, and retain the right to resent unprovoked insult.

Personally, I did not do much exploring and never in disguise. I found it a good plan at times to let my companions see that I had little money with me, five rupees or so, to buy a sheep for a general dinner when beginning the return journey, meantime giving a written I.O.U. to be met on safe return only. This generally saved trouble.

A short description of the well-known Jelalabad Valley and its surroundings may be taken as that of several valleys in Afghanistan. From the mountains round Kabul, to the south of that city, is thrown eastwards a rugged group of spurs, one of which becomes the long subsidiary range known as the Eastern Safed Koh. For several miles to the east of the city several spurs are thrown northward as far as the Kabul river across which run two routes from Kabul to Jelalabad. The upper through the terrible defile known as the Khurd Kabul, the Tazin plateau and Jagdallak, where the British Brigade, of some 500 British and 4,000 Indian soldiers, with some 15,000 camp followers of kinds, perished in the snows or by the swords and jezails of the Ghilza is

in 1841. The other route runs south east from the city to the Butkhak village in the valley, then ascends the Latabund (Ragtied) pass some 9,000 feet above sea, and after passing across several rugged spurs and narrow watercourses joins the other at Jagdallak, descends over the pass to the Surkhab which drains this section of the Safed Koh, to Gundamak, and finally enters the Jelelebad Valley at Fattehabad, some ten miles from the Jelalabad city. From this, an open valley, broken here and there by isolated hillocks, runs east for about 100 miles with an average breadth of about twenty miles. Along the northern edge of the valley flows the Kabul river. Parallel to the river, at a direct distance of from thirty to forty miles, runs the crest of the Safed Koh at an average height above sea of 14,000 feet, the highest peak, Sikaram, 15,620 feet above sea, and some 10,000 above the valley, being opposite Gundamak. From the crest fall numerous spurs, rather bare near their foothills but some wooded with oak, ilex and other trees, succeeded by forests of edible pine (the Chilgoza) up to about 13,000; after that are grassy slopes and snow.

When I went to Sikaram on 29th May, 1879, the snow lay thick on the northern face down to about 12,000 feet. The southern slopes were clear of snow.

As the spurs approach their bases they widen out into gently sloping fan-shaped plateaux covered with rocks and stones, said, by geologists, to have once been moraines at the foot of glaciers. Between the spurs and plateaux run numerous watercourses, which,

widening out, leave room for several hundred acres of wheat, barley and maize cultivation and many fruit orchards, especially mulberries and grape vines. Here, in several small mud or brick forts, towers and caves, live the Afghan tribesmen. From west to east are Ghilzais, Kughianis and Shinwarris, all claiming to be Ben-i-Israel. The tract is known as Ningrahur.

At intervals, running from the foothills to the open valley, may be observed long lines of small heaps of stones and gravel about 100 yards apart from one heap to the next. These mark the lines of the wonderful *Karez*, or underground water channels, by which the fields in the open valley are irrigated. They are usually constructed by Hazaras. A spring having been located at the base of the Safed Koh, a line is selected for the channel to the low-lying land. Then, at intervals of about 100 yards, pits are dug through the concrete to the desired depth, the contents being raised to form the heaps mentioned. Then a connecting tunnel, just large enough for a man to crawl through, is dug from pit to pit till the stream from the spring emerges into the open fields. When an obstruction occurs, the pit above it is closed till the obstruction is removed. These *Karez* may be seen in most of the larger valleys.

In the main valley, besides Jelalabad, are several large villages or small towns, occupied, mostly, by Tajik cultivators and Hindu shopkeepers, while in numerous small forts are Afghan landlords and officials, and towards the eastern end Mohmands, another tribe of the Ben-i-Israel.

Beyond Dakka the valley is closed in by the hills enclosing the Khyber Pass, occupied by a section of Mohmands and Shinwarris, but mostly by Afridis. Opposite Dakka the Safed Koh breaks into several spurs between which lie the several valleys and glens of the Afridis, Urakzais, Zaimukht and lesser clans, all now withdrawn from Afghan to British supervision. These tribes are not included among the Ben-i-Israel sections of Pathans.

The southern slopes of the Safed Koh fall into the Kuram Valley, which is divided into a British and an Afghan section by a spur known as the Peiwar Kotal or pass thrown south from the Sikaram peak. The upper end of the valley is hemmed in to west and south by another offshoot from the hills round Kabul, across which is the formidable Shutar Gurden or Camel's neck pass, 9,000 feet in elevation, crossed by General Roberts' force in 1879. The Afghan section of the valley is occupied by a wild tribe, the Jajis ; the British section by the more peaceful and civilised Turis, of Persian descent of the Shiah sect, and most loyal British subjects. Like most of the valley the Kuram is entered through defiles,of the Zaimukhts to the north, and Wazirs to the south.

About 100 miles south of the Kuram Valley is that of the Gomal river. In the block of hills lying between these valleys and those of Zarmat and the Lorah river east of Ghazni, are the Afghan Valley of Khost, occupied by Mangals, and some others farther south, and the hills of the Wazirs and Mahsuds, placed under British

control. In the lands of the neighbouring Baluch tribes is the peak known as Takht-i-Suliman, or Solomon's Throne, from which these hills are known as the Suliman range. Down the valley of the Gomal is one of the principal routes to the Punjab. Several foreign invaders have followed this route from Ghazni, and it has been the highway for the great Kafilahs or Caravans of Camels, with which the peculiar Afghan trading tribe, the Powindahs, have fought their way down and back for centuries. South of the Gomal we enter the lands of the Kakars of the Zhob Valley, now occupied by the British, which forms part of the Baluchistan agency.

Farther south is the far-famed Bolan pass, or defile, leading through Quetta to Kandahar, and thence across the deserts of Seistan to Farah and Herat.

Whoever the ruling powers were in Afghanistan, while the district outside the mountain area as Herat, Kandahar and till about 1800, the Derajat, and the broad open valleys north and south of Ghazni, with those of Jelalabad and Kuram, were largely ruled by recognised officials of the Government and the principal tribal chieftains, and were, more or less, subordinate to the supreme authority and obliged to pay revenue or tribute; the occupants of the more remote valleys, glens and mountainous regions seldom acknowledged more than a nominal suzerainty. There, not any Afghan law, but tribal custom was recognised, and while the tribal *Jirgahs*, or councils of elders, regulated tribal affairs, in all family matters, each man was a law

unto himself. Considering that, at any rate for the last 800 years or so, the land had been in a constant state of turmoil, civil war and invasions, and that the hardier tribes inhabiting the wilder parts possessed little else than their flocks and herds, with restricted areas of culturable land, it is not surprising that these tribes considered it a necessity of life to plunder richer neighbours, and extort all they could from passing traders and even invading armies, often regardless of solemn engagements to the contrary.

As in many other lands, the people of Afghanistan are of several races, speak diverse languages, have different characteristics and occupations, and though all but some Hindu traders and shopkeepers in towns and villages are Mahomedans, some are Sunnis, some Shiahs, the two great divisions of Islam between whom there have been jealousies, animosity and bitterness for generations.

It is known that the early Aryan invaders of India crossed the Hindu Kush, and were followed at intervals by various more recent invaders, whose descendants now occupy the Punjab. Ancient Persian historians and traditions show that the western and southern provinces, as far as the Indus, were portions of the Persian Empire, while the numerous Buddhist and Hindu ruins in Yusufzai, the Jelalabad and Kabul valleys and on to Bamian, indicate that these eastern and northern districts were under Hindu Rajput rule. During succeeding centuries came Tartar, Turk and Persian invaders, and, after the rise of Islam, more Turkomans and Arabs. Each set of

invaders probably left communities in occupation of valleys and glens, who, intermarrying with the Jat and other Hindu previous occupants who had escaped slaughter or exile, and under some leading chiefs or families, formed the nuclei of future tribes. This may account for the greater resemblance in features of the eastern tribes to those of their Punjabi neighbours.

But it has been asserted, on good authority, that the preponderating Afghan tribes are not of either Persian, Tartar or Indian descent. Whence, then, have they come ? The language in use among the upper and more educated classes is Persian, but they and the bulk of the townspeople and peasantry—except those clearly of Persian or Turkoman descent, like the Tajiks, Uzbeks and Hazaras—speak Pushto or Pukhto, styled by themselves a *gadda wadda jibba*, or muddled up language. According to philologists it is based on Sanskrit, but has many Arabic, Persian and Tartar words, but no Hebrew. This last rather discounts the claim of Israelitish descent made by several tribes. Yet this claim is asserted to be correct by Persian historians. According to tradition they are descended from the Israelites carried into captivity by Assyrian monarchs. In the Biblical narrative we are told that Shalmanazer carried away many families from Samaria and other cities of Israel (not Judah). He settled them in the country of the Medes—that is now Kurdistan. Tradition says that one of the leading chiefs, a direct descendant of Afghan, grandson of Saul, King of Israel, desirous of getting further away from Assyria, trekked eastward

with a considerable following along the foot of the Elburz and finally settled in the hill country between Herat and Kabul, and there founded a small kingdom known later as Ghour, where, for centuries, the tribe maintained its independence, religion, language, and social customs. As years passed the tribe spread southward to Kandahar and eastwards to the Indus. When news reached Ghour that a new prophet had arisen in Arabia in the 7th century A.D., a deputation, headed by Kis. a direct descendant of Saul and Afghan, was sent to Medina, where they joined the Prophet who was engaged in fighting the Meccans, and fought with such zeal and courage that on their return he sent with them some of his most ardent followers, by whom the whole tribe was converted to Islam. Whatever truth there may be in the tradition it is certain that the Afghans were early converts and have ever since been zealous champions of Islam. But many years passed before the Ghouris rose into importance. In the 9th century a Turkoman chieftain, with a few followers, crossed the Hindu Kush and, settling in the then small village of Ghazni, brought the neighbouring valleys under his sway. His son extended his authority to Kabul, and his grandson, the famous Madmood of Ghazni, turned the kingdom into an empire extending across Persia, Mesopotamia and parts of Turkestan; then, in the year 1001 A.D., invaded the Punjab with an army of Afghans and others, burning with zeal for Allah and gold. Twelve times he raided Northern India, plundering palaces and rich temples, smashing

idols, murdering Brahmin priests by hundreds, and slaughtering, or converting by enforced circumcision, thousands of the peasantry and townfolk, returning, on each occasion, with hundreds of camel loads of loot, with which he enlarged and adorned Ghazni, making it one of the largest cities of the east. In his last raid he carried off the pieces of the great stone pillar, the Lingam, representative of Mahudeo, and the gates from Samnath, on the seashore of Gazerat, to place them in his principal Mosque. As with other eastern conquerors his death was soon followed by the disintegration of his empire, and in the next century, one Allah-u-din, chief of Ghour, took Ghazni by storm, massacred the inhabitants and left it a heap of ruins. His successor, as Mahomed Ghouri, crossed the Punjab, found the Rajput kings, as usual, at variance, defeated and slew Jaipal, king of Delhi, at Paniput, entered the capital, then, leaving one Eibak, once his slave, now his general, to continue his conquest returned to meet other enemies nearer home.

Eibak, under the name of Kutb-u-din, defeated the various Rajput kings in succession, and became the first Mahomedan Emperor of Delhi and Northern India.

During the reign of the slave Emperors of Delhi and their successors, the Ghilzai dynasty, the invasion of the terrible Tamerlane or Timur Lang, who slew about a million of the people of Delhi, regardless of age, sex or creed, the subsequent invasion by his grandson, Baber, who, with some 20,000 followers, defeated the

reigning Emperor and became the first of the Great Moghals, and his successors down to the middle of the 17th century, the rich provinces of Kandahar, the Derajat, Peshawar and Kashmir were included in the Indian Empire, Khorasan and the western tribes in Persia, while the more mountainous regions were pretty well left to govern themselves under their own chieftains. In 1650 Abbass, of Persia, added Kandahar and Ghazni to his kingdom, and, to ensure control, transferred to those districts a large section of the Abdalli tribe, appointing their chiefs as landlords of the villages, controlled by Persian officials, whose exactions and insults caused revolts, the murder of the Persian Governor, and expulsion of Persian officials, by one Vais, Chief of the Abdallis, who proclaimed his independence.

His son, another Mahmood, in 1720 over-ran Persia and Mesopotamia and ruled for a few troublous years. His son succeeded him on the Persian throne till defeated by the next rising sun, Nadir Shah, who, starting life as a bandit chief, became a successful general, and, after defeating Afghans, Turkomans and Russians, became Emperor or Shah of Persia. He then invaded India, defeated the troops of the Moghuls, sacked Delhi, slaughtered half a million of the inhabitants, then returned to Persia, became insane, and was murdered by some of his own officers. Commanding a contingent in his army was the Afghan Saduzai chieftain, Ahmed Shah, who hurried back to Kandahar, soon consolidated a new Afghan Kingdom, and changed the name of his

family to Durani Doran—the fortunate. He now claimed suzerainty over India, and invaded the Punjab in 1757, the year in which Clive fought the battle of Plassey. At that time the Mahrattas of Western India, who had risen to power, had captured Delhi, and the Emperor, and were advancing northward through the Punjab, where the Sikhs were rising into importance. The Mahrattas fell back before the Afghans, but the armies met at Paniput. Again the Hindus were defeated, and Ahmed entered Delhi and Ajmir. Home troubles called him back to Kabul, but seven different invasions followed. The Sikhs, unable to oppose him in force, harrassed his march, attacked convoys and detachments, and carried on a kind of guerrilla warfare against him and his officials. The fighting between the two races was accompanied by such barbarous cruelties on both sides that the resulting enmity and betterness still exists. Among other acts of savagery Ahmed captured the sacred city of Amritsar, and filled the sacred tank of " the water of life " with the carcasses of men and cows, and gave the city to plunder and massacre. On the last occasion the Sikhs followed him up to the Indus. He died in 1773. His grandson, Zaman Shah, on ascending the throne, proclaimed another *jihad* (holy war against infidels) against India, where British protection had now extended to Delhi. The very threat of invasion spread terror even as far as Calcutta. If threatened only by an Afghan invasion the British Indian Government need have had no anxiety. But in Southern India,

Tippo, Sultan of Mysore, the Viceroy of Oudh, and other Moslems of influence, were promising to join Zaman if he proclaimed a *jihad*. The Mahrattas were formidable in the west. It was well known that agents of the great Napoleon, then in the zenith of his military career, were intriguing not only with citizen Tippoo and others in India, but that others were busy in Persia, Afghanistan and Lahore, where Ranjit Singh now ruled, and was hungering to absorb the cis Sutlej Sikh States, now under British protection. The only feasible counter-stroke appeared to be to send friendly missions, with ample money and presents, to Persia and other frontier States, to negotiate offensive and defensive alliances, especially with Persia, to prevent the passage of French or other European troops through Persia and a promise that if the Afghans invaded India a Persian army would attack Herat and Kandahar. This commenced the transactions between British India and the frontier that led up to future wars. The immediate causes of present anxieties were soon over. Sir John Malcolm, on arrival in Persia, found that a Persian army was already marching on Herat, citizen Tippoo fell in the assault on Seringapatam, and Zaman Shah had enough to do against a brother in rebellion. So, for a time, the clouds dissolved.

Before relating later events it may be as well to give some account of the Afghans and Pathans in their homes and daily lives.

However the various tribes first occupied the land each tribe has now its own special valleys and grazing

grounds. Each tribe, as time passed, sub-divided into clans and septs, distinguished by the name of some leader with the addition of *Zai* (sons) or *Khels*, and now, in the lands still included in Afghanistan, as well as those under other governments, each sept has its separate name and chief or chiefs, its hamlets, towers, fields and grazing areas. With a sturdy, almost illiterate race, under no control in the more mountainous and inaccessible tracts, except tribal customs, and such tenets of the Moslem religion as can be instilled into them by almost equally ignorant *Mullahs* (divinity teachers), and where every man has to defend his own life and honour, it is not surprising that constant causes of dispute may lead to bloodshed, and as the old rule, an eye for an eye, a life for a life, holds good, blood feuds continue for years. The proverbial character of the Pathan or Afghan is that he is brave but cruel and bloodthirsty; hospitable but treacherous; fanatically religious but immoral; active in fighting but lazy at home; despising traders but avaricious, and perhaps he is all these.

Let us see them in their homes. Of the townspeople there is little need to go into details. Most of the cities are occupied by men of many races, mostly artisans and shopkeepers, kept more or less in order by state officials and some kind of police, with oriental courts of justice for civil and criminal cases, and some kind of ecclesiastical authority to dispose of religious disputes and offerings, and to enforce attention to fasts, feasts, alms, and prayers.

The houses of the wealthier classes are often small forts surrounding small courtyards, double storeyed with special apartments on the upper floor for the wives and daughters, who are secluded, and go out veiled in *Burkas*, enveloping the figure from head to foot. But the bulk of the chieftains, whose lands lie in the broad fertile valleys, live in small forts, with retainers, horses, etc., in the lower, and the families in upper rooms ; the reception room for male visitors being often neatly decorated and furnished with rich carpets and bolsters. These nobles are often able to provide soldiers for the ruler in case of war, usually one man per plough, and pay a certain amount of tribute or revenue to the royal treasury. But in the more secluded glens the dwellings are generally flat-roofed huts of mud or stone, guarded by towers, or caves in the hill sides, similarly guarded. The interiors are bare of any but household furniture, as flour mills, spinning wheels, agricultural instruments, and the inevitable sword or knife, shield and rifle, the old clumsy matchlock having been superseded. In a corner may be some seed cases for grain, in another water-pots. Add a charpai (bedstead) or two to serve as chairs in the day, and a footstool before the spinning wheel, with a few copper cooking vessels, and the hut is furnished.

Maybe in some hole in the wall or floor a rag containing the family jewels and ornaments may be hidden to bring out on festive occasions. Peasant women are unveiled and free to wander out, but must be careful what men they talk to.

Now as to the character of the Afghan and Pathan. In the accounts of his wars and fighting on our frontiers, one often reads of his fanaticism, his reckless bravery and cruelty as well. He is religious according to his lights. His creed is simple. There is but one God and Mahomed is his prophet. He considers it his duty to destroy idols and, when able, idolaters and infidels. He strictly observes the fast, even on the hottest days, neither drinking nor smoking from dawn to dark; doing his eating and drinking at night. He avoids spiritous liquors and the "unclean animal" as he calls the pig. He prays—that is,—repeats his creed and recites the prescribed texts from the Koran five times a day, at least during the month of fasting,and will repeat the Creed before cutting the throat of bird or beast for food, or pulling his trigger before shooting his enemy. As to fanaticism, well, if we in England found a foreign army, for no reason that we knew of, invading our country and blowing up our homes and public buildings, etc., I fancy we would do our best to wipe them out, and call ourselves patriots, not fanatics. Anyhow foreigners are lawful prey and the alacrity with which the tribesmen hurry to the scene of action when the first shots are fired or the drums beat, and the rapidity with which they concentrate, shows their delight in a scrimmage, and if they get killed, why it was predestined by Allah, and after all maybe when the recording angels have done with them they may have a better time in the next life.

The first invasion of Afghanistan by our troops was

considered by the tribes as unprovoked and deeply resented. Before that, English and other European travellers often wandered freely across Afghanistan even into Central Asia. Most of our frontier wars were punitive expeditions forced on us by raids on villages within the British frontier, the tribesmen being incorrigible plunderers. These frontier tribes have little in the way of money, generally restricted cultivable areas; Allah, they say, has given them only rocks but real good rocks, and from their hill-tops they see golden harvests, why not share them? Did not their Prophet enrich himself by attacking the caravans of his enemies and sharing the spoil? Among themselves, the chief causes of strife are in the words of the Persian proverb, *Zar Zan Zamin*, gold, women, land. Well, they don't possess much gold to fight about. Of late years on our border tracts, the making of railways and roads and canals irrigating formerly barren tracts, now made over to them for cultivation has had a very calming effect and given them some money. *Zan*, by the teaching of their Prophet a Moslem is restricted to four legal wives, but may get children by any girls he captures in war or can purchase as slaves. The more sons a man has the better he can "withstand his enemy at the gate." The more daughters he has, the more money he can get for them as marraige dowries. Competent judges assert that the Pathan alone among orientals falls in love in the western sense; and in the free peasant life where women are unveiled, and free to wander in search of firewood, grass, etc., on the hill

sides, young men and maidens meet and fall in love as elsewhere. But marriages are arranged by the parents, the girl has no choice, and, on occasions, a father, after accepting one offer, may reject it on receiving a higher bid, which may mean murder and a future blood feud.

But those curses of high caste Hindu life in India, *Suttee*, female infanticide, forbidding widows to remarry, and child marriage, are not Moslem customs. Remarriage of widows is encouraged; did not the Prophet marry several widows?

Zamin. "Cursed is he that removeth his neighbour's landmark," is the second sentence in our Commination Service, taken from Mosaic law; it is unforgivable among the Pathan tribes. A feud may be the result of some breach of this law owing to a doubtful boundary. For example, I have known a case where a stream recognised as the boundary between two small clans broke into two branches, which rejoined after half a mile or so. The enclosed space had long remained unploughed. An inmate of a hamlet on one side wishing to add a piece to his allottment, started ploughing. From the other side came a challenge of his right to plough. Angry words and shots followed, one fell, a blood feud had started. Until harvest time approached no man of either hamlet dared expose himself. Then a Syud was appealed to, as mediator, a *Jirgah* met, a girl from the winning side in the number of casualties was given in marriage to a youth of the other, and a few acres transferred temporarily in lieu of blood money.

In accordance with the injunctions of the Koran,

few Pathans indulge in strong drink so there are no drunken brawls. Perhaps had temperance, rather than total abstinence, been the rule, the life of the peasantry might have been less gloomy. Living in uncomfortable huts or caves, with no knowledge of the outer world, almost illiterate; without any of the amenities of daily life, neither games, theatres or even newspapers, their only diversions are, when not fighting, to gather, of an evening, outside the village *hoojrah*, or guest house, and listen to traveller's tales. Or round the bonfire to listen to some itinerant professional storyteller, or songs of Roostem, and other bye-gone heroes and saints, and end up with a sword dance. For the women the only diversions are marriages and pilgrimages to noted shrines. Yet, with all his faults, there is something in the character of the Pathan that appeals to the sporting instinct of English Officers, Civil and Military, who know them. The officers of Pathan regiments are proud of their men.

In Islam there is no ordained priesthood. Any man who can repeat the Qalma or Creed, and recite extracts from the Koran, may lead the prayers in a Musjid, or become a Mullah, or teacher. There is no caste hereditary distinction in Islam, like the Branminical Hindu system, but all supposed descendants of the Prophet, and of the family of the Koreish of Mecca, are known as Syuds and sacerdotal, but rather as the Levites were in Israel than like Brahmans in India. They may, or may not, officiate as priests in the Musjids, but as a rule this duty is left to the Mullahs, of whom we hear

so much both in political and religious disputes. Almost every hamlet has its Musjid and its Mullah, but the more important temples are in the towns or near some specially sacred shrine of some dead saint, real or traditional. These greater Mosques or Musjids are usually richly endowed with lands to which are attached hereditary families as cultivators and menials.

The chief Mullah of such Musjids is, of course, a man of great influence, and if, in addition, he is learned in Moslem law and tradition, and has a sufficient knowledge of medical art to effect a few cures, he may be credited with miraculous powers and collect a large band of students, generally orphans, or boys of poor parents, who, as they become proficient, and of age, may, in turn, become Mullahs in outlying villages, and spread the fame and influence of their teacher, till he becomes a leader of public opinion over a large area. Such are the Mullahs, who have often started *Jihads* on our frontiers, and have, in the late crisis, aided in the fall of King Amanulla. Moslems, being forbidden to adore images in any form, find an outlet for their devotions in pilgrimages to famous shrines. Some of the most famous of these are known as *Chalgaza*, or forty yarders, and are reputed to be the tombs of the "giants that were in those days," heroes or saints, of early Moslem days, or Hebrew patriarchs, as Lamech, Noah and others. Occasionally an ordinary-sized grave takes to growing and becomes doubly sacred. Amulets against disease, bullets, and the Evil Eye, are worn by most Pathans, usually texts from the Koran enclosed in small metal

caskets worn on the arms, round the neck, or in the turban. These take the place of the crosses, horse shoes and mascots of more enlightened people.

The total population of Afghanistan is estimated to be about six millions, occupying an areas as large as France. Only about one-third of them belong to the dominant fighting tribes of Pathans, including Afghans. From such a population, averse to restraint of discipline, it would be difficult to organise, on modern lines, a force of one hundred thousand, and in its present undeveloped state no such army could be efficiently maintained. Any invader from west or east might find a troublesome enemy or friendly allies in the tribal levies, but no serious opposition and doubtful aid.

It was well, perhaps, for Afghanistan and India that in 1885, or later, Russia did not send the vast armies that fought against Japan across Afghanistan to India.

For nearly a century before its fall, Tsarist Russian armies were steadily advancing eastwards, gradually, perhaps of necessity, absorbing in its Empire the several Khanats of Turkestan, at the same time seeking an open sea for her navies and trade. Her agents were busy in the courts of Persia and Afghanistan, in opposition to British interests. The reception of a Russian Mission in Kabul by Dost Mahomed Khan, after the failure of the British Indian Mission to that Amir, under Sir Alexander Burnes, led on to the British Afghan War of 1837-42. For the second time, in 1877, Russian entrance to Constantinople had been prevented chiefly by England. She retaliated by sending a mission, with

offers of military assistance, to Amir Sher Ali, should that Amir make an attack on India. The Mission was received and located in Kabul, though not very cordially, and a British Mission, under Sir Neville Chamberlain, was forbidden and threatened if it attempted to advance beyond the fort of Ali Musjid in the Khyber Pass, which the Amir had lately repaired and garrisoned with regular troops, within ten miles of the frontier. This led to the second war, 1878-80.

Up to 1879 no change had been made in the North Western Frontier since the annexation of the Punjab in 1849, despite the fact that every expedition sent across the frontier, to punish raids into British territory by sections of the frontier tribes—and there were no less than sixty such expeditions—had to force its way through narrow rocky defiles, or over difficult mountain passes, before reaching its objective. Up to that year the only large military station on the frontier was Peshawar, facing the entrance to the Khyber Pass; all other military stations to the west of the Indus were each held by one or two regiments of the Punjab Frontier Force. The great trade routes, used also by several invading armies in the past, were open to any invader from the west down to the foot of the hills west of the Indus. Had there been any such invasion the British forces would have been obliged to force the defiles before meeting the invaders, an almost impossible task if these defiles had been occupied by any army organised and equipped for modern war, or have had to await the enemy on the ground between the hills

and the river. Advocates for the retention of this old boundary line judged that it would be easy for a strong stationary force on the Indus, to attack and overwhelm invaders as they emerged from the hills, weary, disheartened and disorganised after the long march from the Oxus or Herat. But, once in occupation of Central Afghanistan, a European army would be under no necessity to advance further till it had been reinforced and had recuperated.

The principal trading and military routes in and through Afghanistan from north and west, southwards and eastward, are first from Herat via Sabzwar and Farah to Kandahar, about 400 miles. Thence via Quettah and the Bolan Pass to the Indus Valley, opposite Sakkar on the Indus; or, alternatively, via the Zhob Valley or by Ghazni and the Gomal or Tochi, to the Indus at Dera Ismail Khan, about 450 miles. Second, from the Russian boundary on the Oxus, across Afghan Turkestan via Balkh and Bamian to Kabul, about 400 miles, and thence by the Khurd Kabul and Jagdallak, or by the Lataband and Jagdallak to Jalalabad, and the Khyber Pass and Peshawar, about 190 miles.

A more difficult but practicable route from Afghan Turkestan, via Badakshan to Chitral, and thence down the Kunar river to the Jalalabad Valley, or through the Yusufzai country, Dir Bajawar and Swat, to the Peshawar Valley. Forces arriving at Kabul, from the north and Kandahar from the west, could be in touch by the direct road from Kandahar to Kabul through Kalat-i-Ghilzai and Ghazni, which are connected by a

good road 318 miles, passing through the Tarnak and Logar Valleys, the route followed by the British Army in 1839, by Sir Donald Stewart in 1879 and by General Roberts in his famous march in 1880.

Once Kandahar, Ghazni and Kabul were occupied, the invading forces could halt in the broad and fertile valleys in which these cities are placed and there await developments. In the hottest weather these valleys, ranging from 3,000 to 8,000 feet above sea, are healthy and enjoyable, with abundance of corn and fruit of every description. A British force awaiting them in the Indus Valley between April and November, when the thermometer often stands at over 110° Fahrenheit, would be more than decimated by heat, fever, dysentery and cholera, and too much weakened to attempt the formidable task of forcing the defiles and passes intervening, either in the heat of summer or in the snows of winter. Meanwhile all India would be amazed at British supineness, attribute it to fear, and word would speed from province to province that the British Raj was over and it was high time to seek the favour of the Rising Sun.

The progress of events in Europe and Asia at length started a change in this standfast policy. In 1876-7, during Lord Lytton's Viceroyalty, Sir Robert Sandeman, of the I.C.S., with the approval of the Viceroy, but not that of the Punjab Government, proceeded, with a small escort of local Baluchis, from the Derajat to Kalat, where the ruling Baluch Khan was, with difficulty, holding his fort against armed forces led by his feudatory

chieftains. Here Sir Robert, as mediator, by his courage, tact and local knowledge, reconciled the contending parties and subsequently succeeded in persuading that Khan to proceed to the great Durbar of Indian Princes, being held at Delhi by the Viceroy, and there enrol his name with theirs and place himself and his country under British protection; and thus added an area of over 100,000 square miles to the Empire without firing a shot. Further, he succeeded in obtaining sanction to the location of a military cantonment at Quettah, 125 miles from Kandahar on the Bolan route, at the upper, western end of the defile.

Quettah is now the second largest military cantonment in Upper India, and is connected with the Indus Valley by railways and good motor roads. That door was closed. A further step was taken in 1879 when, by the peace of Gandamak, the Khyber Pass, from Lundi Khana to Jamrud, and the Kuram Valley—in both of which Amir Sher Ali had placed garrisons of his regular army when relations with British India became strained—were ceded to British India, as well as the Peshin plateau, near Quettah, at the head of the Zhob Valley.

But the work was only partially completed. Waziristan, which had been a constant source of trouble on the frontier, and had several times been invaded by British military expeditions, and was under no control by the Afghan rulers on one side or the British on the other, was left outside the proposed responsibility frontiers. The occupation of Lundi Khana, at the western end of the Khyber Pass, placed that Pass under British control,

but left the bulk of the Afridi and Urakzai Valleys independent, with the Safed Koh and Ningrahar, occupied by Shinwaris and Khugianis, open as places of refuge for those tribes if it again became necessary to send punitive expeditions against them; and also left it open to them to appeal to the Afghan Amir against any action of the British Government, which, later, was actually done on more than one occasion, and caused friction between the two governments.

Farther north and west beyond the Kabul river, and between the Kunar, Kabul and Indus rivers, is a mountainous region of some 6,000 to 7,000 square miles in extent occupied by Mohmands and the great Yusufzai tribes, Bajour, Dir, Swat, Buner, etc. The various Mohmand clans occupy lands in the Jalalabad Valley to the west, and portions of the Peshawar Valley, British territory, on the east, as well as several valleys lying between these extremes. Those in Jelalabad Valley have long been Afghan subjects; those in Peshawar, British subjects. The intermediate sections, while nominally acknowledging the Khans of Lalpurah, opposite Dakka, and the Khan of Goshta, on the Kunar, as their tribal chieftains, have, in practice, only submitted to their dictation when it suited them. Chiefly under the influence of successive leading fanatical Mullahs, they have again and again raided across the British boundary, and burnt and plundered the villages up to the very walls of the frontier forts of Shabkadr and Michni. As early as 1851-52 we find forces sent against them under Sir Colin Campbell, and several

other expeditions, up to the second Afghan war, 1878-80, when they caused much trouble round Dakka, and on more than one occasion since. Never once, throughout these years, had the Afghan Government made any effort to prevent or punish these raids though, through the Khans of Lalpurah and Goshta, claiming suzerain rights over them; yet, in deference to these shadowy rights, no British force had actually penetrated into the Mohmand valleys north of the Kabul river. A few miles above Dakka the Kunar or Kashkar river falls into the Kabul. This river, taking its rise near the Baroighil Pass, over the Hindu Kush south of the Pam rs, flows first in a westerly course through Mastuj to Chitral, then, turning south between Chitral and Kafiristan, passes Asmar and Goshta to its junction with the Kabul. It thus makes a clear dividing line between actual Afghan territory and the lands of the Yusufzai tribes, which have never submitted to Afghan control.

Had the Kunar river and the Valley of Jelalabad as far as Fattehabad, or even Gandamak, and thence a line to the Sikaram peak of the Safed Koh, and from that point the crest of the spur falling down to the Peiwar Kotal, been fixed as the Afghan British boundary of responsibility, much subsequent trouble and bloodshed would have been saved. Neither the Amir Yakub Khan at Gandamak in 1879, nor Abdul Rahman in 1880, when invited by the British Government to accept the Afghan throne, would have been in a position to oppo se the arrangement, nor indeed except in as far

as the Jelalabad Valley was concerned, any legitimate right to do so. On the second occasion Mr. Gladstone was too eager to undo the work of Lord Beaconsfield at any cost to allow those with better knowledge of the conditions to select a boundary line, which would have settled many difficulties.

No further forward movements were made till the Russian attacks on Panjdeh, and other Afghan military stations near the Oxus, in 1885, brought again into prominence the necessity for making further arrangements for the better defence of Afghanistan itself, and the North Western Frontier of India, against further Russian aggression and intrigues leading to tribal disturbances and friction between the two Governments.

When, in 1880, Abdul Rahman had been recognised as Amir, it was promised that if any power should make an unprovoked aggression on his dominions, the British Government was prepared to aid the Amir if His Highness followed, unreservedly, the advice of the British Government in regard to foreign relations. A further advance of Russia to Merv, in 1883, re-opened communications on the subject of the relations with Afghanistan, and it was arranged, later, that an Anglo-Russian Boundary Commission should meet at Sarakhs, which had been occupied by the Russians in 1884. While arrangements for the meeting of the friendly Commission were still in progress, Russian troops advanced and seized other Afghan towns. In India, Lord Dufferin, in honour of the visit of the Duke and Duchess of Connaught, had arranged for a great Durbar

and military display at Rawal Pindi, and invited Amir Abdul Rahman to be present. The Amir accepted, and on the day of his arrival news was received that the Russians had again attacked an Afghan post and butchered 1,200 of the Amir's soldiers. War seemed imminent between England and Russia but was somehow averted in spite of the deliberate insults offered by the Russian Commander to the British Mission. The work of the Boundary Commission was restarted and was completed in 1887. This, for a short time, seemed to settle the disputed boundary question, but Russian officers were soon busy again, now on the Pamirs, and fresh attacks were made on Afghan outposts in Badakshan and Alichur. From their new positions it was but a short distance to the Baroghil Pass, and thence to Mastuj and Chitral, bordering on the Yusufzai country.

About the same time Abdul Rahman, in his zeal for Islam had sent an army into and annexed Kafiristan, had also occupied the Kunar Valley as far as Asmar, and was evidently contemplating a further advance to Chitral, from which he would be able to exert powerful influence over, if not actually occupy, the Yusufzai country, from which at any time the Peshawar Valley could be entered, outflanking the Khyber Pass defences.

This was the situation when Lord Lansdowne succeeded Lord Dufferin, and Lord Roberts had become Commander-in-Chief. A more active frontier policy was considered necessary. A rapid reconnaissance, made by Sir W. Lockhart, with three British officers

and a small Indian escort from Gilghat, via Hanza Nagar and the Baroghil Pass to the Russian frontier, showed that both Russian and Afghan influences, inimical to the British, were at work. The chiefs of Hanza Nagar, confident in the impregnability of their mountain strongholds, and with reason, replied to overtures with insolence, the Mehter or Chief of Chitral courted British protection. The two former were taken by assault by a small force, mostly Kashmir troops, where Captain (later General) Aylmer earned his Victoria Cross, and Dr., afterwards Sir, George Robertson went as Resident to Chitral. This last did not suit the views of the Afghan General at Asmar, and being furnished with men and arms by the Afghan Commander, an adventurer named Umra Khan made an attack on Chitral, and but for the gallantry of the small Indian escort, under British officers, would have captured it. To its relief arrived from Gilghit Colonel Kelly with 650 sepoys, 350 miles across snowy mountains and through rocky defiles ; and a force of 20,000 men, under General Sir Robert Low, was collected to operate through the Swat valleys, for the same purpose. To oppose the latter, the tribes occupied, in great strength, the principal pass across the outer range of hills, the Malakand, which was deemed by them impregnable, as no army, Moghul, Sikh or British, had attempted to force it since the days of the great Akbar, when an army, under the ablest of his generals, Birbal, was defeated in the attempt and the famous general killed.

The pass was taken by assault in a few hours. The

troops, after some further opposition, opened the way to Chitral, at which the garrison was strengthened, and connected by a good road to the frontier. Military posts were stationed on the Malakand and other points. The tribal chiefs subsidised to protect the route and informed that so long as the military stations, convoys and reliefs were not molested, there would be no interference with the internal affairs of the tribes. So, for a time, calm was restored.

Later came various Missions to the Amir. The Durand Mission gained a reluctant consent to the British protectorate over Chitral, and non-interference with the Yusufzai tribes, while his General on the Kunar kept possession of the strategically important province of Asmar, and the Amir got an addition of £50,000 a year to the previous £100,000 subsidy, and liberty to import warlike material of all kinds, great and small, through India. Subsequently he also agreed, reluctantly, to the demarcation of a boundary line, placing portions of Waziristan, the Urakzai and Afridi country, and the eastern sections of Mohmands within the British zone of influence and responsibility. But before this work commenced, Abdul Rahman, having, with the aid of British subsidies and arms, defeated certain rival claimants to his throne and drastically suppressed tribal revolts, and no doubt with an eye on the early disasters of the Boer War, considered that the time had come for him to assert his rights as an independent God-appointed Sovereign. He sent his son, Nasirulla, to England with the object of obtaining the

right to have direct communications with the Secretary of State in foreign affairs, instead of with the Viceroy; and also to open the question of his right to receive representatives from other European States in his capital, a point the Russian Government had recently been urging. He next was filled with a fervent religious zeal. Arrangements were made for holding a grand Durbar at Kabul, to which came the "Mad" and other influential Mullahs from the Oxus to the Indus, to whom His Highness read a proclamation extolling the virtues and dwelling on the necessity for a *Jihad* (holy war) against all infidels. He humbly accepted the modest titles of Lord of the Country and the faith and King of Islam, and distributed rich robes of honour.

The Mullahs naturally concluded that His Highness desired them to "rid him of these pestilent" English, and promptly started to the frontier districts to stir up strife in the name of Islam, with much success. The game began by a treacherous attack on a small force at Maizar in Waziristan. Then a fierce night attack on the military escort of a boundary demarcation commission at Wana. In the north, tribal gatherings attacked the military posts on the Malakand and others on the road to Chitral. Farther south a Mohmand *Lashkar* invaded British territory near Shabkadr. The Urakzai attacked the Sikhs holding Samana and Seraghari near Kohat. The small garrison of the latter died fighting to the last man; and, finally, Lundi Kotal and Ali Musjid, in the Khyber Pass, were attacked by Afridis. The last was not only a defeat but a disgrace

to the British authorities in Peshawar. The forts at Lundi Kotal and Ali Musjid were held by the Khyber Rifles, Afridis and Mullagories, under a British officer, who was recalled to Peshawar when troubles threatened. Despite reliable information that the Afridis were collecting in great strength to attack the military posts in the Khyber, the Commissioner reported to Simla that these reports were greatly exaggerated, there was no real danger of a general rising. There were 10,000 British and Indian troops at Peshawar, but not a man was sent to the front by Commissioner or General, and when attacked by overwhelming forces, the Local Rifles died fighting to the last against their own countrymen—fathers, brothers, cousins and priests, looking in vain for help from the Government for which they were laying down their lives! The whole border was up in arms from the Black Mountain in Hazara, through Yusufzai, the Mohmand, Afridi, Urakzai and Waziri countries to the Gomal pass. In the ranks of the several tribal *Lashkars* were many Afghan subjects, as well as soldiers of the Afghan regular army.

In 1896-7, over 100,000 British and Indian troops were mobilised and crossed the frontiers, and there was much heavy fighting, especially in Tirah and Swat Valleys, with heavy lists of casualties on both sides before peace was restored, and little if any beneficial results from the heavy losses in men and money.

In 1899, Lord Curzon, on succeeding Lord Elgin as Viceroy, at once took in hand the readjustment of tangled frontier affairs. The military garrisons in

Chitral, and other frontier cantonments, were reduced, the local levies converted into better paid and equipped Rifle Corps under British officers, frontier roads and railways were extended and improved, roads fit for motor traffic carried up difficult defiles and over mountain passes. The adventurous tribal youth thus became guardians instead of plunderers of caravans and convoys. Others were able to make money by working on the roads and public buildings. Trade rapidly increased.

To crown all, Lord Curzon now succeeded in a scheme for the better government of the frontier, which had been proposed by Lord Lytton in 1877. Hitherto all the frontier districts within the old boundary line, as well as all recent accretions, formed a portion of the Punjab province under the Lieutenant Governor. The whole of the trans-Indus territory, as well as the Hazara district and neighbourhood, were constituted into the New North Western Frontier Province, under a chief Commissioner dealing directly with the Viceroy in Council; with the result that except for troubles in Waziristan, the peace of the whole frontier was maintained till the close of the Great War.

The Amir Abdul Rahman died in 1901, and was succeeded, without opposition, by his son, Habibulla, who, though for several years showed no desire to open friendly relations with the British, claimed and obtained several years' arrears of the annual subsidy of about £150,000 that had been kept in deposit in the Indian treasury at the request of the late Amir. Like his father he endeavoured to claim the rights of an

Independent Sovereign! To deal directly with the Secretary of State for India in London, instead of with the Viceroy, and to send representatives to London and to other foreign countries, and to receive their representatives in Kabul. Subsequently he visited India, and opened cordial relations with the Viceroy. To his credit, during the Great War he not only refrained from causing trouble on the frontiers, but prevented his subjects from doing so.

Unfortunately he was shot in 1920 by an unknown hand near Jelalabad. It is doubtful who instigated the murder but it appears to have been expected in Kabul, where his younger son, Amanulla, promptly seized the treasury and arsenal and proclaimed himself King, ignoring the claims of his elder brother, Inayatalla, then in Jelalabad—and putting his Uncle Nasirulla in prison where he died shortly after. Whether fearing an insurrection, or some opposition as the result of suspicions as to his complicity in his father's death, he, without any apparent cause or excuse, declared war against India, and a large force of his regular army, accompanied by the *Lashkar* of the Mohmand tribe, crossed the Peshawar frontier near Shabkadr and threatened the positions in the Khyber Pass.

A few sharp defeats near Shabkadr and Dakka, and a flight of aeroplanes over his palace in Kabul, cooled the new King's ardour, and a truce was called. In the event the defeated party gained more than all he had claimed from the victors: complete independence of British control, the rights and title of an independent

monarch, liberty to receive Embassies from other countries, and to send his representatives to them. All, in fact, that his father and grandfather had in vain solicited. It is not surprising that he claimed to have gained a victory over the great power that had just humbled Germany and Turkey, and, to the delight of his courtiers, erected a Column of Victory in his Capital. But he counted too much on his power and prestige when he started his drastic reforms. Naturally a brave but illiterate people, whose only spiritual teachers are Mullahs, students exclusively of Moslem sacred literature, taught to look on all non-Moslems as infidel doomed to perdition, were horrified to hear that their King and Queen had adopted European habits; and when he followed this up by ordering his menfolk to adopt European dress, the women, high and low, to discard the veil and seclusion from men's society, insisting on the education of girls, all of which tended to weaken the influence of the Mullahs, and executing opponents, among them some of the most influential Mullahs in Kabul, a much more subservient race might have risen in arms. Especially when, in addition to all this, he ordered a conscription for his army and demanded heavier taxes on land and trade to pay for it; the peasantly who might have ignored the religious reforms were driven into rebellion.

The first to revolt was the small tribe of Shinwaris, who occupy portions of the northern slopes of the Safed Koh above the Jelalabad Valley, known as Ningrahar, west of the Khyber Afridi country. This tribe, almost

secure from attack, had more than once, on previous occasions, resisted the troops of the Afghan Government to coerce them, and had shown their daring courage when, during the second Afghan war, British troops had been sent to punish certain sections who had attacked British convoys. Probably the proposed reforms of Amanulla had little to do with the revolt. As among other Pathan tribes the peasant women go about freely unveiled. But conscription and increased taxation were not to be calmly accepted. At Jelalabad, within easy reach of their villages, was lying rich booty in the shape of motor-cars and numerous purchases made in Europe by Amanulla, besides the furnishings of a fine palace. Such temptation was hard to resist.

Then followed an attack on the Capital itself by a tribal gathering headed by a noted bandit known as Bacha-i-Saqao, or son of some watercarrier. While this was in progress Amanulla, in deference to the religious opposition, rescinded his reforms. This offended the lay courtiers, who had hoped to benefit by obtaining the lucrative appointments held previously by Mullahs. Amanulla had shown the white feather, and was evidently not the man for Kabul, so he abdicated and fled to Kandahar, the home of his own, the Durani tribe, where he again raised his standard and reclaimed the Kabul throne, where meantime the revolted bandit has taken his place. It remains to be seen if any tribes will rally to another Durani, and the proud tribal chieftains submit to be ruled by one not of royal blood.

The name by which the bandit chief was known, Bacha-i-Saqao (son of some watercarrier) was a nick-name. Habibulla is probably his real name, to which he has added Ghazi, or champion of the faith. He is evidently of humble origin, but the famous Nadir Shah, conqueror of Persia, Mesopotamis and Delhi, defeating Russians, Afghans, Turks and Moghuls, started life as a bandit. Kutb-u-din, first Moslem Emperor of Delhi, had been a slave, as were several of his successors on that throne, and there are many more instances of similar changes of fortune in eastern history. An important factor in any struggle for supremacy is the great Ghilzai tribe, which occupies the valleys to the east of the line Ghazni to Kabul and holds the passes between those two cities as well as those from the Jelalabad and Kuram Valleys. Habibulla, in his first acts, has shown a chivalrous spirit towards the ex-royal family, perhaps unparalleled in oriental revolutions, in arranging for their removal by aeroplane, instead of murdering, blinding, or keeping them for ransom, or as hostages for his own security.

It really matters very little as far as British India is concerned who finally rules Afghanistan, except that if he is pro-Russian, Kabul may be a convenient centre for intrigues and conspiracies between Bolsheviks and other anarchists of kinds, and malcontents in India; and the effect that prolonged troubles in Afghanistan may have on the more restless of the tribes on the north western frontier of India.

The latest developments show that the two brother

"kings" have "thrown up the sponge." Amanulla, in Afghan opinion, has three times shown the white feather, and is "not the man to rule over them. Habibulla's adherents now occupy, for the time being, all the principal towns and trade centres—Kabul, Herat, Kandahar and Mazar-i-Sharif. If nothing untoward prevents, he should shortly be *de facto* ruler of Afghanistan, as Amir, or chief noble, as the term implies. As such there should be no objection to his being recognised as such by the British Government. In which case it may be found that he is willing to resume the relations previously existing between the two governments as to his foreign policy. Especially if he is granted the annual subsidy, paid to previous Amirs, which enabled them to maintain a small standing army, and is permitted to have a representative in London rather than in Dehli or Simla under Viceroy or Governor General, controlled by an assembly of town-bred moneylenders, lawyers and Brahmans, mostly Hindus.

THE NORTH WESTERN FRONTIER.

PART II.

IN the year 1757 A.D., while Clive, at Plassey, was adding Bengal to the territories of the East India Company, Sultan Ahmed Shah, first Durani ruler of Afghanistan, was invading and ravaging the Punjab, which he annexed to his dominions. Here he came into contact with the Sikhs, who, owing to persecution by the Moghuls, were rapidly organising themselves into a military Confederacy. During his successive invasions, hostilities between Sikhs and Afghans were carried on with such cruelty and barbarity on both sides that the bitter memory of those years still lingers on. Towards the close of the century the Sikh Confederacy became a monarchy under Ranjit Singh, who shortly drove the Afghans first across the Jhelum, then from Kashmir and Hazara, and finally beyond the Indus to the foothills of what are now known as the Yusufzai, Khyber, and Suliman groups of mountains, that is the trans Indus tract in the Peshawar Kohat, Bannu, and the Derajat districts.

The peasantry of these districts trans Indus are Pathans of various tribes, and were as turbulent and warlike under Sikh rule as their neighbours in the hills. Sikh armies drove out the Afghan officials and troops, but found the administration of these Moslem districts no easy task, despite the severities of the ablest of the Sikh generals, Hari Singh, and the daily executions of marauders and others by General Avitabile in Peshawar.

Meantime the British Indian zone of protection had extended to the Sutlej river; and after the death of Ranjit Singh, and the succeeding years of anarchy, the invasion of British territory by Sikh armies resulted in the first Sikh War of 1845-6, which ended after the battle of Sobraon in the occupation of the Sikh Capital, Lahore, by British troops.

The advisability of annexing the Punjab was considered, but neither the Directors of the E.I. Company, Lord Hardinge, the Governor General, nor Sir Henry Lawrence, Governor General's Agent in the Punjab, were favourable, and it was decided to place the boy Prince Dhuleep Singh on the throne and appoint British officers to the frontier districts, with Sikh troops, to organise the new administration. Among these were Vans Agnew, treacherously murdered in Multan, Herbert Edwardes, George Lawrence, Mackeson, Abbott, John Nicholson, and other since famous men. These young officers were hailed by the Moslem Chiefs and peasantry as impartial peacemakers, and so completely gained the regard and confidence of the wild men of the border that when, a year later, the Sikh armies revolted against

British domination, Lawrence found a safe refuge among the Afridis, Kaka (Uncle) Abbott in Hazara, and Nicholson with tribal levies occupied the Margala pass west of Rawal Pindi (where Nicholson's monument now stands) on the line of retreat of the Sikh army flying from the defeat of Gujrat, thereby inducing it to surrender to Sir Harry Gilbert. Herbert Edwardes fron Bannu, with a strong body of local Pathan levies, and a contingent of Bahawalpur troops, blockaded a Sikh army in Multan till the arrival of a British force under General Whish.

After the close of the second Sikh War in 1849 the Punjab was annexed to British India, and what had been the Sikh western frontier, the foot of the Afghan hills, became the British boundary trans Indus, with the Hazara district cis Indus.

Kashmir had been ceded to the British in 1847 in lieu of a monetary indemnity. But Rajah Golab Singh, Governor of Jammu, who had been neutral in the war, pointed out that a garrison in Kashmir, while the Punjab intervened between that Valley and the British Indian boundary, would be completely isolated and snow-bound every winter, and offered to pay the indemnity in exchange for Kashmir. This was agreed to on condition that foreign relations should be conducted only through the Indian Government, without whose consent no foreign officers should be entertained, and the practices hitherto prevailing, of Suttee, or widow burning alive, female infanticide, and multilation should be abolished. So the famous Valley was lost

to British India, and for years forbidden even to British officers and travellers without consent of the two Governments, especially during the winter months, when the land tax was collected in a drastic, oriental manner by Dogra (Hindu) Officials and soldiery, from the Moslem peasantry, by selling up the crops, fields, homesteads, and in some cases the families and persons of defaulters, at least under the first of the Maharajahs, Golab Singh.

Much of the country adjoining the boundary trans Indus consisted of rugged hills, ravines and defiles, barren and almost waterless at times, with some large and fertile valleys and wooded mountains beyond, yet hardly sufficient for the needs of the inhabitants, who had for centuries added to their resources by raiding and plundering the villages in the low country, and demanding or taking forcibly what they considered all traders and travellers should pay for being permitted to pass through their country, and saw no reason why they should cease these practices when an infidel Government had taken possession of their hunting grounds.

HAZARA AND NEIGHBOURHOOD.

VERY different, in its physical features, is the Hazara district, on the east of the Indus, to those on the west, resembling more closely those of the Kashmir country adjoining it on the east. This most northern of the British districts covers an area of some 3,000 square miles, lying roughly between the Jhelum and Indus rivers north of the railway line from the Margala pass to Attock, extending northwards some eighty miles to the crest of a snowcapped range or spur thrown westward from the great Nanga Parbat or Naked mountain,with the addition of the Kaghen glen,a narrow valley running north eastward some 60 miles in length to a point on the range 30 miles from the great mountain.

The district is largely groups of mountains and hills surrounding several large and small fertile open valleys in which lie numerous villages of mud huts, and small towns. The whole was protected from frontier raiders by a garrison of that grand regiment, the 5th Gurkah rifles, and other units of the famous Punjab Frontier Force till the recent changes in administration, stationed at the pretty cantonment of Abbottabad about 4,000

feet above sea, with surrounding hills rising to 8,000 feet; splendid health resorts. Most of the several tribes inhabiting the district are more allied to the Punjabis farther east than Pathans: yet until the arrival amongst them of "Uncle Abbott" they were as wild and lawless as their northern and western neighbours, though they soon settled down, and are now as peaceful and loyal to the British Raj as any in India, if not more so; and large numbers of their youth joined up during the Great War in regiments and in the Labour Corps. Hazara was long the most northern district of British India (excluding Kashmir) but the zone of influence and protection now lies far north. Many visitors to Kashmir, writing of its beautiful scenery, mention the delight and admiration felt on first view of the tremendous mass of the Nanga Parbat, about 100 miles north of Srinagar, rising, in solemn solitary grandeur, 26,600 feet above sea level, 10,000 feet above all neighbouring peaks and pinnacles. Thirty miles to the west of the great mountain, the crest of one of the many spurs, or lesser ranges, thrown out from its sides, is crossed by a pass, or col, known as Babusar, some 14,000 feet above sea, the final point of Hazara and Kaghan.

The glen, some sixty miles in length, lies between two slightly diverging ranges, capped with snow more or less throughout the year, rising in serrated pinnacles from 15 to 17,000 feet in height. Down the glen runs the Kunar river, an affluent of the Jhelum, fed by the numerous streams that emerge from several small

glaciers lying round the upper reaches of the snowy peaks, through cave-like openings used by the *Jins* and *Divs*, as gates into their icy sapphire domains. The lower depths of the valley and lateral glens are dark with splendid forests of larch and spruce; higher up are grassy slopes where the sturdy Gujars guard their thousands of sheep and goats, for which they pay grazing fees to the family of Syuds, who hold the glen in *Jaghir*. On the grassy slopes, too, in the warmer weather, families of brown bears roam and play. Above are snowy and rocky wastes where Ibex find a refuge, and all is silent save the cry of the beautiful snow pheasant, and the intermittent crashes of falling rocks or avalanches of snow: while the sun shines; and incessant thunder rolls and lightning flashes when storms arise. Just below the pass, the source of the Kunar, lies the Lalusar lake where families of marmots scream and romp. A little farther is another lake in a side glen where, in 1857, the remnants of a mutinous Purbia regiment, after a long weary march from Murdan in Yusufzai, made its last stand against tribal levies, and, half-starved, surrendered to the Syud leaders after receiving from them a solemn oath on the Koran that if they surrendered their arms, they would be permitted to go free into Kashmir; which oath was broken, and the wretched sepoys were made prisoners and delivered, bound, to the British authorities, to suffer the penalty for mutiny. As a strange result of their broken oath the Kaghan Musjid was silent for years, the Syuds being considered unfit to lead the prayers!

Farther down, in another lateral glen, is the little Syfar Malook Sar or lake, at the foot of a 17,000 foot peak, the Malik-i-Parbat. In the lake the fairies have their home, whence, at times, they swim down a sub surface river 100 miles to visit their cousins in the Dal of Kashmir. Farther down the valley forests of deodar, pine, oak, chestnut, birch and other trees clothe the sides of the lower slopes. Here the black bears have their dens, the tiny little musk deer slides silently, and the glorious moonal pheasant flashes across in the sunlight.

Some thirty miles down the glen is the timber-built village of Kaghan, the home of the Syuds, with their Musjid, Hujrah or guest house, and more imposing dwellings surrounded by the huts of their retainers, rising in terraces up the hill side. Other villages lie at intervals down the glen, surrounded by a few acres of barley maize and millet fields in terraces; subject to the Syuds. The family of Syuds, who hold the glen as Jaghirdars, receive grazing fees from the Gujar shepherds and the land taxes from cultivators occupying the villages, also wander round the country on both sides of the Indus collecting the tithes due to their sacred office according to Moslem custom, claim kinship not only with similar Syud families scattered among the Pathan and Afghan tribes on both sides of the frontier, but also with similar groups in India and other Moslem countries. They are popularly believed to be descendants of the Prophet, but as Mahomed left only one surviving child, his daughter Fatimah, it is more probable that they include descendants of other members

of the noble family of the Koreish of Mecca, and other noble Arab families who accompanied the several Islamic armies that swept over Asia and Africa in the 7th and 8th centuries. They are, as a rule, handsome, intelligent men, scrupulously clean in person, courteous and dignified in conversation and manner, and invariably very influential among the Moslem communities among whom they dwell. They are credited with a fine aptitude for intrigue, and in the collection of tithes and alms, but how else could they have survived through centuries of foreign, civil and revolutionary wars? For good or evil, many individual Syuds have been notable in Oriental history. Among others, one, Syud Ahmed of Bareilly, the founder of the Bareilly College, did much to reconcile the Moslems of the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh to British rule after the great mutiny and Moslem rebellion of 1857. While another Syud Ahmed, also of Bareilly, was the leader of a *Jihad* against the Sikhs in 1827, and the remnant of his followers, after his defeat and death, became the necleus of the Colony of Wahabi fanatics, who, settling on the slopes of the Mahaban Mountain and the right bank of the Indus, by permission of the Pathan tribes, kept the Hazara and Yusufzai districts in their neighbourhood in a constant state of ferment for half a century, and were the cause of several punitive expeditions against sections of the tribes from 1850 onwards. This Syud Ahmed, starting life as a trooper in the Pindari gang of the once notorious Amir Ali Bonerwal, who, during the wars between Mahrattas

and Moghuls, cut out for himself the little principality of Tank in Central India; went later on a pilgrimage to Mecca where he imbibed the tenets of the Wahabi sect. Passing, on his return, through the frontier tribes of Afghanistan, he succeeded in collecting a considerable following, proclaimed a *Jihad* against the Sikhs, and, for a time, succeeded in occupying Peshawar and a large portion of the surrounding districts. Defeated at length by Ranjit Singh, he took refuge, with his Hindustani followers, in the independent hill country of the tribes. Here, for a time, he gained great influence, but in his efforts to enforce Wahabi rule, forbidding the use of tobacco in any form, and the acceptance of money as the price or dowry of their daughters given in marriage, and imposing penalties on those who were lax in daily attendance at the five public prayers, etc., he alienated the Pathan Chiefs, a general slaughter of his followers was arranged to be carried out at a prearranged signal—a bonfire on the Karamar hill in Yusufzai. Many were killed, but the Syud with his disciplined guard of Hindustanis escaped, crossed the Indus into Hazara. Here a Sikh force was sent against him and he was attacked, defeated and slain after his small force had three times repulsed the Sikhs on the heights above the village of Balakast at the western end of the Kaghan Valley. The remnant of his followers recrossed the Indus and were permitted as religious refugees to settle on the Mahalan Moutain, where they were the cause of much trouble for years.

The town or large village of Balakot occupied by members of the Swati tribe, is on the banks of the Kumar before it enters the Pakli Valley. It lies at the southern base of a remarkable peak known as Musa Ki Musala or Moses' seat, on the snowy range forming the northern boundary of Kaghan and Hazara about sixty miles west of the Babusar pass, the intervening portion being a succession of steep pinnacles averaging some 15 to 16,000 feet above sea, rising from snow covered passes and miniature glaciers. From its northern face are thrown out several spars or lesser ranges of equal height, which fall away to the bed of the Indus; in many places almost meeting those from the north. Below Babusar is the little state of Chilas at the capture of which a fine soldier and sportsman, Daniels of the 4th P. I. was killed in 1890.

Farther north several glens, occupied by a hardy race known as Kohistanis, who own several large valleys as Pattan and Jalkot, on the banks of the Indus, where the space allows of several acres of land being turned into terraced fields. Kaghan was long the limit of British administration but British protection now extends far to the north to the crest of the Hindu Kush, a hundred miles away, where are the little chieftainships of Hanza and Nagur, and the Baraghil pass within easy reach of the Russian boundary and sources of the Kashkar river, flowing westwards by Mastuj to Chitral and then southward to the Jalalabad Valley. North and South of the valley run almost parallel snowy ranges. From the southern face run several great spurs with

intervening valleys. Yasin, where the murdered body of Lieut. Hayward has lain for sixty odd years, murdered while asleep in his chair, after he had been made helpless by a net being thrown over his head and shoulders.

The Hodar, Tangir and other glens fall southward to the Indus river, a succession of narrow valleys, each a little republic. Across these wild regions Col. Kelly marched from Gilghit to the relief of Chitral.

Before leaving Balakot it may be interesting to relate that in the late Sixties there were four Swati Chiefs as Lumberdars (Government agents), fine handsome fellows, with courteous manners, and ripe for any work for or against the British Authorities. The youngest, Muzafar, had been to School at Abbottabad, and imbibed what the others considered heretical opinions. He took back with him, among other things, some "English Chairs" and made a practice of sitting out on sunny evenings with his favourite wife on the platform in front of his Haveli, both on chairs, and reading aloud with much enthusiasm, for her benefit and of any others that cared to listen, passages from a translation of the glowing imagery of the "Revelations of St. John the Divine," to the horror of the orthodox, who, no doubt, considered it a sign of Divine disapproval when he died shortly after of cholera.

From Musa Ki Musala the boundary continues along the same range for about ten miles, then for some unaccountable reason, leaves that and turns southward down a lateral spur and follows an irregular watershed till it reaches a spur falling eastward from the crest of

the Black Moutain, which it then ascends to the summit, thus leaving the small valleys and republics of Allahi, Nandihar, Tikari and Deshi outside and including those of Konsh, Agror and Pakli within the British administration, all of them being occupied by sections of the Swati tribe. The largest village in Allahi is Tahkot, on the Indus, at the northern foot of the Black Mountain. On the opposite side of the river is the Chakesar moutain and valley, near which Sir Aurel Stein has lately located the site of the great stronghold of Aornos, captured by Alexander before entering the Punjab.

The strange division of the one tribe, some valleys being within, while contiguous ones are without the limit of British administration, has caused much trouble in the past, and will probably cause more yet unless some better arrangement is made. The natural physical boundary would have been a continuation of it along the crest of the main range, here called Chaila, down to the end of the Indus near Tahkot, then along that river down to Amb Darband thus including all the Swati clans except the Allahiwal and the whole of the Black Mountain.

All the Swati valleys have considerable culturable areas, and are dotted over with numerous villages—in clusters of mud huts, some walled in and protected by towers. From the Malki peak 12,000 feet in height, where the boundary turns south, a considerable area is overlooked. Up to 1867 the space on the map in which these independent valleys should be placed was a blank, and naturally the people disliked the idea of it being mapped.

When ascending the peak one day, for the first time, with my guard of 20 Gurkhas and some of the local chiefs' retainers, before reaching the top we came to the foot of a precipitous ascent, when we were greeted by loud yells, flashing of swords, and dire threats if we proceeded any further. I shouted back that I would allow quarter of an hour for them to think it over, and then go on to the British limit, as was my duty. Fortunately a local Syud of a village near, offered to go ahead and explain, which he did, with the result that "enemies" and friends gathered round the same camp fire, shared supper and ended the evening with a sword dance and war chant before lying down to sleep amicably under the giant fir trees, in which the pretty flying squirrels were busy.

Next morning I was told that the previous day's demonstration had been made by a clan passing another, with which there was a blood feud ; and that if with my escort I would accompany them past two villages close by, they would take me along farther, as far as I cared to go. This enabled me to bring in a sketch of Allahi and some of the other valleys. For which I was severely censured by the Surveyor General, but thanked by the Military Authorities the next year, when there was a sudden invasion of British territory and 14 villages on the British side burnt, which necessitated the assembling of a large punitive force.

It happened that when these outrages occurred, I, quite ignorant of what was going on in my rear, was again working along the boundary, and with my escort

of 20 Punjabis of the 2nd. P. I., was suddenly confronted with some 200 or 300 real Allahiwals on the war path. Fortunately I had time to get on to a steep, rocky knoll and build a sangar (stone breastwork) before they came within gunshot range. They began by telling the sepoys that if they gave me up, the sepoys could march away unmolested. It was a great temptation to them, as we were quite forty miles from any help. The Corporal (naik) of the guard when told of the offer amused me by asking if I wished to " blacken his face," and when I said we would all be killed if fighting began, he said : " I have had pay for seven years now, what does it matter. We enlisted to fight." So a game of firing, with occasional attempts at reaching us sword in hand, began and went on for an hour or two, when a dense fog covered the scene and the sepoys and I cleared out as fast as we could go.

The principal valley of the Swati is Pakli through which runs the road from Abbottabad to Kashmir. As in other parts of the frontier there are remains of Buddhist times, but the most interesting one is a huge rock on the Briari hill above Manserah, on which the " Edicts of Asoka " may still be deciphered. From the name of it might be conjectured that this tribe came originally from Swat, driven out by the Yusufzai. But that is too tame an account. Legend says that some centuries ago a " Turk " Governor of Hazara had a palace in Pakli where he led rather a riotous life. Having become enamoured of a pretty girl of a good family, he had seized and placed in his harem, her

brother, indignant, went off across the Hindu Kush to Badakshan, and there secured the services of a Pathan named Bhai Khan, who, with a few hundred men, came across the Indus. After dark one evening they reached the foot of Tanglai hill overlooking Gulibagh, where the Governor, and the city were holding a festival. Having provided each of his men with a pine torch and an earthern pot, like Gideon of Israel, the whole crept over the top of the hill before dawn, while the city slept after an orgy, and with lighted torches crept close, then with yells, smashing of pots and flashing of torches, rushed into and captured the city, slew the Governor, and started a Swati republic. This story does as well as another. The Swatis are a fine race, but not considered gifted with much courage. The whole of the valleys were over-run by the Sikhs, but revolted and refused payment of revenue. It is said that the Sikh General Hari Singh, to punish the revolt, made a sudden incursion with a strong body of cavalry, swept through all but Allahi, murdered every man and boy they could catch, collected the women and girls, drove then to his camp where they were left among the troops for three days and then sold by auction at four annas (pence) a head.

The invasion of Agror by independent Swatis in 1868 mentioned above, was supported by contingents from the Pathan tribes of the Black Mountain, which led to the assembly of a strong British force, which after some skirmishing occupied the highest peak of the mountain 10,000 ft.. above the sea and then made a

military promernade through the valleys without, to the astonishment of the natives, burning villages, shooting men, or interfering with the women. A grand opportunity of bringing these Swati Valleys and the Black Mountain—as far as the Indus—under British administration was lost, and much future trouble resulted. The crest of the mountain affords splendid sites for Military Sanitoria and had it been permanently occupied several subsequent expeditions would not have been needed. But it is doubtful if a sufficient water supply could be obtained. The mountain derives its name from the dark forests that clothe slopes and crest. Its northern slopes down to the Indus are occupied by several clans of the Yusufzai tribe, akin to those across the river, by whom they have received reinforcements, and to whom they have sent contingents in time of trouble. The mountain from end to end is about thirty miles long, a single crest, its north and south ends falling to the bed of the Indus. Near its southern end acoss the river lies the little town and principality of Amb; here resides the Chief of the Tannawali tribe that occupies a section of the Hazara district south of the Swati Valleys. The Nawab is independent as regards this trans-Indus territory, feudatory as regards the cis Indus part. The Nawabs have been loyal to the British since the annexation, and always turned out with their followers in chain armour when expeditions were in progress. This was in strong contrast to their behaviour during Sikh rule when Painda Khan, the "Silent Chief" held sway and spent

most of his days making unexpected attacks on Sikh outposts and detachments. When intending to start on a raid he gave one order: "Saddle my charger." It was a signal for his horsemen to don their armour and mount, and to follow their leader as he drove his horse into the river and swam him across, the rest following. He was one of the first to join Kaka Abbott when the Sikh armies revolted; and the several clans that occupy lower Hazara, Dilazak Meshwani also joined up. Nor is it strange that they did so. During Moghul and Afghan invasions Islam had wiped out Hinduism west of the Jhelum and lower Indus; the Sikhs, when still unorganized, were cruelly persecuted, and retaliated with interest when their turn came. The Moslem tribes refused to pay the heavy taxes demanded by the Sikh leaders. Strong military columns went out and enforced payment by drastic measures, torture, flaying alive, burning, and having gathered what they could the main bodies went off to other fields, leaving small garrisons in isolated forts. These were soon surrounded, supplies cut off, many taken by assault, the garrisons slaughtered, some crucified and flayed alive, and of course, once again would come other Sikh columns and more slaughter. This state of affairs continued in all the frontier districts till the British arrived. Very similar to the Black Mountain in the Mahaban across the Indus, but with its northern end facing the southern end of the Black Mountain, and only attaining a height of 7,000 feet above the sea. The Indus washes its eastern base from end to end

to Torbela some 30 miles above Attok. Here the old boundary leaves the Indus and turns west along the foothills of the Yusufzais.

The southern portion of the Hazara district is occupied by some Pathan tribes like the Dilazaks and Meshwanis, and other non-Pathans, like the Punjabi tribes of adjoining districts.

The hills are lower, and as they fall in height the pine, oak, fir, and other trees of the higher regions are succeeded by scattered pines and finally by mere scrub and grass.

They fall into two groups, east and west, between which is the broad fertile valley of Haripur. The open country to the south and the belt of alluvial land between the western or Gandghar group of hills and the Indus is known as Chach Hazura, once as turbulent as the rest, long peaceful, from which, as from the rest of Hazara, many fine recruits join Punjabi regiments.

In Haripur may be seen the tomb of a young French Artillery Officer, who, in the service of the Sikhs, was killed fighting, armed only with his linstock, to prevent his mutinous gunners from seizing the guns, during the Sikh revolt in 1849 against British control.

YUSUFZAIS.

To the west of the Indus, from the southern range of the Mastuj-Kashkar Valley to the Kabul river, about 100 miles in direct distance, and from the Indus to the Swat river drainage, an area of about 6,000 square miles, is occupied by various clans of the great Yusufzai tribe, "sons of Joseph" who are Pathans, but, like the Afghans farther west, claim to be Ben-i-Israel. Among them Dr. Bellew, of the Guide Corps, who knew them well, found many Israelitish customs resembling those described in the Mosaic law, such as the scape goat, the widow of an elder brother taken to wife by a younger in order to provide an heir for the deceased brother's inheritance, shrines of refuge for accidental man-slaughter, stoning for adultery, periodical redistribution of lands, etc.

Of this area about a fourth, known as British Yusufzai, is practically a level plain, extending across the block from east to west, and from the Kabul river on the south to the foot of the northern hills. This area is, for the most part, under cultivation, and has numerous villages. It was a portion of the land of unrest before

the annexation, but has been quiet enough since, except along the northern frontier when for many years it was troubled by raiders from across the border. Centuries ago it must have been, as part of Gandhara, an important province, to judge from the large number of Buddhist remains that have been disinterred or found in ruinous heaps of stone-built cities.

Skirting the plain, at an average distance of some ten miles from the base of the hills, runs a low, rocky, barren range, from the south end of the Mahaban on the east to the Swat river on the west, known as Sinawar.

The country between the crest of this range and the plain is an intricate mass of rocky spiurs from the range, with intervening ravines, with some more level spaces enclosed, in which, and on the adjoining slopes, are the clusters of mud huts, protected by towers, that are the homes of a sturdy but wild and poor race who possess very limited culturable areas and few resources of any kind. It is not surprising that they have long been noted as expert raiders, especially,as after the annexation of the Punjab, to these villages fled and were welcomed, "Every one that was in distress, and everyone that was in debt, and every one that was discontented," including murderers and other outlaws from both sides of the frontier, who made themselves useful in collecting booty from the plain, generally cattle, sheep and corn, but also made a practice of causing alarm in a village, and in the confusion carrying off children of the Hindu, local banker, grocer and general dealer, found in every village, and holding them for ransom. Hindu traders

also were often kidnapped on their travels from village to village, and, in case of resistance, the raiders did not hesitate to use their weapons. Owing to their example, or by coercion, even villages within the boundary, in the early days, often joined in the raids or refused to pay the usual land tax. As early as 1847, before the annexation, Colonel George St. P. Lawrence, administering the Peshawar district for the Sikhs, found it necessary to send military expeditions to enforce obedience and punish marauding. With these expeditions went, under Lieutenant H. Lumsden, detachments of the since famous "Corps of Guides" of the Punjab Frontier Force. This body, composed of six companies of infantry and four troops of cavalry, originally recruited chiefly from Pathans of several frontier tribes, was raised as early as 1847, was converted into a regular regiment, armed with rifles, after annexation, and quartered at Hoti Marden, situated in a central position in British Yusufzai, which has been the headquarters of the Corps ever since; ever ready, and at hand, to move out against raiders, or join more important military operations. Its rapid march to Dehli, in June, 1857, was one of its earliest astonishing exploits. With it are connected the names of Harry Lumsden, Daly, Hodson, Chamberlain, Sam Browne, Cavagnari, Jenkins, Campbell, Stewart, the brothers Battye (three of whom died in action, leading their men, and a fourth on the Black Mountain in trying to assist a fallen comrade), Hammond, Younghusband, and many another fine soldier to whom is now added a Sandeman,

nephew of Sir Robert of Baluchistan fame. From a desert the cantonment was turned into a garden, where, long isolated from the rest of India, they found congenial employment with hawk and hound when not on active service.

Despite the proximity of this cantonment, and lesser fortified posts, raiders from one stronghold or another continued to harass the border at intervals, most of them in connection with the colony of Hindustani Wahabis, which had settled on the Mahaban and right bank of the Indus after their leader was slain in action with the Sikhs in 1826.

About a dozen punitive expeditions crossed the border, but none were on any considerable scale, nor ever crossed the outer range of hills till the Ambela campaign of 1863, in which the further tribes became involved.

The principal sites of archæological interest found in the low hills adjoining the British Yusufzai plain are the ruins at Takhti Bahi, in Lundkhwar, north of Mardan, those of a large stone-built city from which statues of Buddha, showing unmistakable marks of Grecian influence have been taken. The ruins of another city, built of massive stones inside an outer fortification wall, and within which are still, in places, intact masonry underground drains, and also statues of Buddha on a low hill known as Runigat or the Queen's Rock, overlooking the plain about two miles north-east of the town of Nawakilla, a large rock on the Karamar hill, about half way between the two above-named, on which are in-

scribed "Asoka's Edicts," and a paved Buddhist road ascending the Malakand pass north west of Mardan on the main road to the Swat Valley, and now the site of a military post on the road to Chitral. A characteristic incident, concerned with the Ranigat ruins, might be interesting. After a visit I had promised to pay five rupees to any party that would bring a statue to my camp on the plain below. One morning a party of Pathans brought it and received payment. They had not gone far on their return journey when firing was heard. It appeared that another party had dug up the statue in the evening and left it ready for conveyance next day. Party number one went up at night, brought away the statue, and got the money. On their way home again they were met by the other party, were fired on and returned the fire. Result, two casualities and a blood feud.

Although Yusufzai is known to have been the birth-place of several notable Mullahs, some of whom have been fanatically bitter against infidels, assassinations of British officers, frequent on some other sections of the frontier, have seldom occurred here. But the murder of one in Mardan occurred in 1864-5. The Assistant Commissioner of British Yusufzai was a Captain Ommaney, whose younger brother was a Lieutenant in the Guides.

One evening the band was playing near the fort as usual; among other officers and byestanders was Lieutenant Ommaney, on horseback. Suddenly a Pathan walked up close, seized the horse's reins, and said he had a petition. Suddenly drawing his knife

he stabbed the young officer, and, as he fell, jumped on his horse. But the native groom held on, and the man was captured, tried, condemned, hanged and his body burnt to prevent his burial place being sanctified and made a place of pilgrimage, miraculous cures and alms-giving as the tomb of a Shahid or martyr, though there was no religious question in the matter. The object of the assassin being to murder the magistrate who, in the ordinary course, had condemned the assassin's brother to death for murder.

The northern portion of the Yusufzai country, from the crest of the outer Sinawar range to the southern mountain barrier of the Kashkar Mastuj Valley, contains the several divisions known as the Mahaban, Boner, Swat upper and lower, Dir and Bajaor.

The most important of these valleys and states is that drained by the Swat River, and divided into Upper and Lower Swat. The river rises in the snowy region south of the Kashkar, and flows in a south-westerly direction for about seventy miles before it enters the plain. It is closed in on either side by mountain ranges, varying in height from nearly 20,000 to about 4,000 feet in elevation, diminishing gradually as they run southward. Their slopes close in the valley, down which the river runs, sometimes to the breadth of a few yards, at others to a mile or more between the opposite slopes; between the spurs are several lateral glens more or less wooded. For about thirty miles from its upper end the valley is known as Bar or Upper Swat. Below the snow line the hill sides are well wooded with firs, pine

and deodar cedars; villages are few, the people are almost entirely pastoral; of a race more nearly allied to their northern neighbours than to other Pathans, and have little concern with those of other tribes.

The lower section of the valley has more culturable areas along banks of the main river, and in the lateral glens, and is more densely populated. Before it turns west, some twenty miles above its exit, the valley widens out considerably, and rich rice crops are raised over a large area, the supply of water for irrigation being considerable. The height of the valley here is barely 2,000 feet above sea, the heat of summer is excessive, and even the winter far from invigorating. Owing to the large area under rice, mosquitoes abound, and the whole population suffers, more or less, from malarial fevers. The men are of less sturdy physique than their neighbours in more elevated regions, yet the women are as a rule more robust and healthy, and are said to be the real masters of their households. Mostly illiterate, under no control, and superstitious, it is not astonishing that they are considered to be more given to personal feuds and murders, as well as being less hospitable and more treacherous than the more virile tribes in higher regions.

Like most Pathan tribes the Swat Yusufzai have no central government, each village and petty hamlet has its own headmen, who exercise authority in their own special sub-clan or sept, and are generally at feud with their neighbours. Nothing but a common danger found them at peace with one another till recently. There

was, however, for a time one supreme adviser rather than ruler whose religious influence extended throughout the Yusufzai states. This was Abdul Ghafur, known as the Akhund (teacher) of Swat. Starting life in Upper Swat as a shepherd boy towards the close of the 17th century, as a youth he wandered round "sitting at the feet" of learned Mullahs, then settled as a recluse in what is now British Yusufzai. Next figured as the leader of a band of Ghazis, with Afghans, in battle with the Sikhs. Later he got mixed up with religious bickerings between Wahabis and Orthadox Syuds. Finally settled as a hermit in a village in Swat near the Malakand. Here his fame and influence spread throughout the frontier and beyond. As a proof of his miraculous powers it was asserted that, though he was penniless, he daily supplied food to the hundreds of pilgrims who came from the frontier tribes, Afghanistan and the Punjab. It did not seem to strike any of them that the alms placed daily at his feet would more than pay for the food, and the wily chiefs would no doubt be quite ready to make the necessary arrangements for money received. When, in spite of his warnings, parties from the Swat Valley joined in raiding British villages and British punitive expeditions resulted, fearing annexation of the valley he first tried to get the various heads of families to nominate one of themselves as military leader, in vain, then persuaded them to accept one Syud Akbar, an intimate of the late Syud Ahmed, as King of Swat. Akbar promptly raised a body of regulars with whom he hoped to overawe the tribal

chiefs. But the Pathan Samuel and Saul could not agree any more than did the Israelite Seer and King. Akbar, fortunately, lost his power, and died just when the great mutiny of 1857 occurred. Had the frontier tribes then, under one leader, formed a confederacy and invaded British territory, the result might have been disastrous, considering that there were then but two or three British regiments trans Indus, on whom alone the Government could rely. Quarrels among the several clans prevented any combination, and the Swat tribes gave little further trouble till 1863. Before its exit into the plain the Swat river is joined by another considerable stream, the Panjkora, which drains the elevated, almost circular, basin of the little principality of Dir and the more extensive valley of Bajaor, to the west of Swat between the Swat and Chitral valleys. Through these regions now runs the military road from the plains across the Malakand pass and the Panjkora river to Chitral. These valleys, being more elevated than Lower Swat, the people are a more sturdy race. The Bajaoris, especially, make splendid soldiers, and many have served in the frontier regiments. The principal villages, or small towns, of Bajaor, are Jandol and Nawagai, each of which is the centre of a small state under its own chieftains. Dir has long had hereditary rulers, between whom and the Bajaori Khans, and between the two Bajaori Kkans with each other, there have been periodical wars and family bickerings ending in bloodshed. Until the arrival of Sir George Robertson, as the British Resident in Chitral in 1891,

these Clans had not come in contact with British authorities, except that in 1863 contingents from these valleys went to aid the Bonerwals in the Ambela campaign. About the year 1890 an Afghan adventurer, named Umrakhan, had, with a wild following, caused much trouble in Dir and Bajaor, and in 1893, encouraged by the Afghan Governor of Jelalabad, Gholam Haider, on the pretence of espousing the cause of an exiled Mehter (master) of Chitral, invaded that state, and when Dr. Robertson hurried to the scene, with a small escort, defeated him, and beleaguered Chitral, which only escaped capture by the arrival of Colonel Kelly with 650 sepoys from Gilghit. Shortly after General Sir E. Low crossed the Malakand with a large force which, after constructing a military road to Chitral, and leaving garrisons at Chitral on the Malakand and at Chakdarra, returned to the plains. Fresh disturbances, and a fresh invasion by a British Army, occurred in 1896-7, owing to causes related elsewhere, since which there have been no serious disturbances.

To the east of Swat, and divided from it by the Ilam range, is the valley and state of Boner, twelve to sixteen miles across an almost circular basin, surrounded by high mountains, accessible only over difficult passes; or up the still more difficult defile of the Barando river, which, after collecting all the drainage of the valley, passes down a difficult narrow defile to the Indus river some six miles above Amb, opposite the Black Mountain. The Bonerwals are a self-contained republic, ruled only by the Jirgahs, though much under the influence of

Mullahs. Beyond trading in corn, hides, and honey, with the villages in the plains, they keep themselves aloof from tribal quarrels, and though, from the first, inclined to be hostile to the British, never joined in the raids across the frontiers. They have proved themselves good fighters, and are said to be the most honest, truthful and hospitable to strangers, including outlaws and refugees of all Pathan tribes. It was an unfortunate fate that brought them into contact with British troops, resulting in the fiercest fighting and the largest scale of operations on the north-western frontier before the general rising of the tribes in 1896-8. Only once has the reproach of treacherous murder been made against them, that of the fine old Chief Zaidula Khan in 1868, instigated by the Akhund of Swat, an act which is regretted, as a disgrace to the whole tribe, to the present day.

East of Boner is the long narrow valley of Chamla, of which the drainage falls into the Barando. The valley, the scene of the Ambela campaign of 1863, is subject to Boner.

West of the Chamla valley rise the slopes of the Mahaban Mountain to the height of some 2,000 feet above the valley and 7,000 above sea level. The farther slopes fall to the Indus, on the right bank of which are some flat open areas, where were situated Sittana, and other villages of the Wahabi Colony.

The west and lateral glens of the Mahaban are occupied by the Amazai, Godun and other Yusufzai clans, some of which also occupy the western slopes of the Black

Mountain. It has previously been mentioned that after the death and defeat of their leader, Syud Ahmed Sheh, in Hazara, the remnant of his followers, among whom were a strong body of Indian Moslems, or Hindustanis, as they were usually called, sought and were granted refuge by the Bonerwals and the Mahaban tribes, who gave them grants of land on and above the west bank of the river. After the British annexation of the Punjab, parties from these colonies joined in raids across the border. The raids became more frequent and troublesome in 1858-9, when they were joined by malcontents and fugitives escaping from the consequences of the rebellion and mutiny, and the murder of English women and children at the time. At length the Punjab Government considered it necessary to punish these outrages, and military expeditions were sent against various villages situated in the hills south of Mahaban and against Sittana, Kotah and other Wahabi strongholds near the river which were taken and destroyed. Again and again the tribes among whom the Wahabis had settled were warned that unless they expelled the colony, or restrained them from raiding across the frontier, they would be held responsible. The only reply was to the effect that they could not refuse shelter to religious fugitives. From 1860 to 63 the raiding continued, and with ever-increasing audacity. In 1863 an Indian Inspector of Police reported that a constant stream of recruits was steadily marching from Patna, Dacca, and other cities, along the Grand Trunk Road to the Peshawar frontier.

He was snubbed as an alarmist. He then got his son, an intelligent young man, to join up as a recruit, which the lad did, proceeded to Sittana, became a secretary to the leading Wahabi Syud, and, after some months stay at risk of death, swam one night across the Indus, with copies of correspondence which exposed the fact that a widespread conspiracy was in progress, and arrangements being made for a Mahomedan rising throughout the Northern Provinces from the Sutlej to the Ganges, which was to be the signal for the Wahabis, now numbering some 2,000 desperate fanatics, as a vanguard to a force of 20,000 Pathans to invade the frontier districts.

The Punjab Government, now thoroughly aroused, with the consent of the Viceroy in Council, ordered the mobilisation of a mixed British and Indian force of 5,000 combatants in Yusufzai, under the command of Sir Neville Chamberlain, in command of the P.F.F., with the object of once and for all settling the trouble by driving the Wahabis out of the Mahaban, across the Indus into Hazara. The projected plan of operation was to make a feint from Nawakella, twenty miles east of Mardan, towards the Indus, then to turn suddenly and seize the pass into the Chamla Valley near the village of Ambela. Leaving a garrison to hold the pass, the rest of the column was to occupy the Chamla Valley, and from this base ascend the western face of Mahaban to the crest and drive the Hindustanis down the eastern slopes across the Indus, where another force would await them. It was fully understood that these

operations could only be successfully carried out if the Bonerwals and other tribes farther west held aloof, and to ensure this, copies of a proclamation of the object of the force were to be sent ahead and distributed among the chiefs, who, it was believed, would be rather pleased to get rid of the turbulent colony of hated heretical Wahabis who had caused so much trouble. The column reached the head of the pass without opposition, and encamped there for the night. Next morning a cavalry reconnaisance rode fourteen miles down the open valley still unopposed. But, as subsequently appeared, the proclamation had either not reached the chiefs, or not in time to send instructions to their retainers and tribesmen not to molest the troops. In consequence, as the cavalry detachment returned towards camp they were intercepted and fired on. The cavalry charged, and the first blood was shed.

Infantry regiments, sent hurriedly down to cover the retirement of the cavalry, were fiercely assailed, sword in hand, by ever increasing numbers, and were followed up to the very wall of the entrenched camp, with comparatively heavy losses on both sides. In less than forty-eight hours the valley was occupied by not less than 10,000 Pathans, and others were seen coming in with drums beating and standards waving. It was evident that the British force was not strong enough to attack and advance down the valley, and at the same time hold the pass and the difficult line of communications along which alone provisions and ammunition could be brought to the force, and the wounded

evacuated. The Viceroy, Lord Elgin, was, at the time, on a tour in the hills and died on his way back. But the Lieutenant Governor, Sir Robert Montgomery, had shown his ability in the Mutiny. On his own responsibility he ordered up reinforcements of another 5,000 British and Indian troops. But there was no railway then north of Delhi. Transports had to be collected, hundreds of camels, bullock carts and mules, with their drivers ; and six weeks passed before a force considered sufficient was collected. Meantime, round the entrenched camp where the water supply was secured, on all prominent points commanding it, strong piquets were posted and sangars (stone walls) were raised. Again and again these piquets were attacked by the enemy, sword in hand, covered by the fire of Jezails, some taken and retaken after fierce fighting. Many of these jezails carried 5 to 600 yards with effect. The British regiments had Enfield, muzzle loading, rifles, sighted to 1,100 yards, but the men of the Frontier Force had the short, heavy, clumsy Brunswick rifles, sighted in 300 yards, carrying a belted ball, kept separate from the powder cartridge and needing a mallet to drive the bullet well into the muzzle. The regular native infantry had the " Converted Enfield," effective to about 250 yards. The horse artillery guns and mountain batteries were very effective when playing on masses, but, when scattered, the enemy had time to shelter behind rocks as soon as the smoke of the guns appeared. On one occasion the storming of the crag piquet by the enemy caused such a panic among camp

followers that Sir Neville Chamberlain felt it necessary to lead a counter attack in person, and was severely wounded and compelled to give over the command to Sir John Garvock. In the interim the Akhund of Swat, genuinely convinced, no doubt, that the annexation of Boner and Swat was contemplated, proclaimed a *Jihad*, condemning all who failed to join up to excommunication and eternal damnation. Week after week more contingents arrived from as far as Bajaor, the Mohmand hills and from the Kunar Valley—till, at last, it was estimated that nearly 50,000 men occupied the Chamla Valley. Each tribal contingent, on arrival, was sent to attack. But the Bonerwals had borne the brunt of the fighting, and were expected to find food for all who had come to aid them, in accordance with Pathan custom ; and now were thoroughly tired of the whole business.

Just before the final attack Colonel James, Commissioner of Peshawar, who had just returned from England on the same vessel as Sir John Lawrence, appointed Viceroy by Lord Palmerston on the death of Lord Elgin, as being the best man for the almost critical situation, arrived on the scene. He was well known to and respect by all frontier chieftains. Sending a message to the Boner chiefs, announcing his arrival, he desired them to come to camp for an interview. They came, were received severally, one by one in his tent and, after a talk, were separately escorted out. Each, on return to the valley, enquired of the others what had been agreed upon. Each affirmed that

nothing as to terms had been said. Each concluded that the other was lying, and a quarrel ensued. At another interview Colonel James elicited the fact that the Bonerwals would be pleased to get rid of the host, and on being assured that no annexation was intended or desired, said, if the British attacked next day, they would stand aloof. Next morning, leaving a strong garrison on the pass, the British attacked the enemy's strongest positions and, having taken them by storm, pushed on into the valley. The Akhund was soon in flight, the other contingents rapidly followed suit, only the Hindustani Wahabis charged the infantry, sword in hand, to the number of about 300, and died fighting. Next day the various contingents had disappeared and the Bonerwals came in to settle terms of peace.

It was finally arranged that the Bonerwals would destroy Malka, the principal stronghold of the Wahabis in the Mahaban, and the Guide corps should go with them to see it done. On nearing Malka a strong body of Amazac and other clans intercepted the force, desirous of attacking the Guides, but old Zaidulla swore that it would only be done over the body of himself and his men. So what might have necessitated a renewal of the war with a larger army was prevented.

The British losses were 36 British officers and 152 men, and 31 native officers and 689 men killed and wounded, a total of 908 casualties, and the main object of the expeditions not successful.

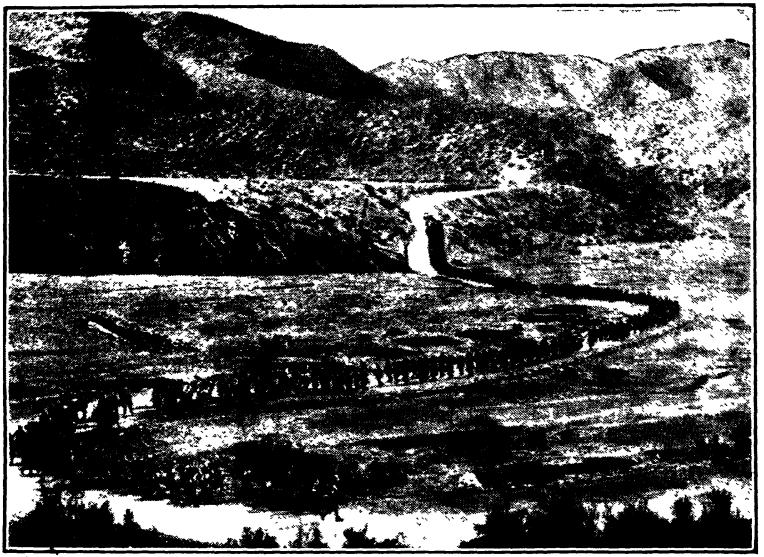
One of the most striking features of the campaign was that though the Mahomedan soldiers in the British

ranks were fighting against a famous sainted personage, in what he had declared to be a holy war against infidels, there were few, if any, desertions, even from the Pathan regiments, whose devoted courage was a marked feature of the hand to hand encounters. This, unfortunately, cannot be said of some regiments in the Great War; probably owing, in great part, to most of the old soldiers and their British officers having been removed by death, wounds, sickness and promotion in the early battles, and the younger recruits had not imbibed the *Esprit de Corps* of their regiments. And even before the war, due to recent changes, the British commanding officers were no longer considered as the *Ma Bap* mother and father of their men, to whom alone they looked for reward or censure, and came for advice in trouble. The change in regimental numbers, after the amalgamation of the several armies, including the Punjab Frontier Force, had its effects. Who, under their new names, could recognise the 14th, 15th and 45th Sikhs; Coke's (Khattak) Rifles. B's Bounders (Brownlows Afridis) 20" P. 1., and many other corps. Was it not so in the British Army? Who now recognises the 3rd Buffs, Fighting Fifth, and many another regiment bearing on their colours the names of many battlefields from Minden to Balaclava, or in India who remembered as Munster and Dublin Fusiliers, or even 101st to 107th, the grand European Bengal, Madras and Bombay Fusiliers of John Company Bahadar? Personality in the east is a primary factor in war and diplomacy.

While on this subject I may mention that on an

occasion chatting with an old Khan, whose beard and chest were sprinkled with snuff, he asked why I did not use snuff. I said a great doctor was asked if the taking of snuff injured the brain. The doctor said, No, as men who took snuff had no brains to speak of. The old chap took a pinch, gave me a sly look, and said, " Jeems Sahib takes snuff " (Colonel James, above mentioned). That was a sufficient answer.

Though the immediate cause of the Ambela Campaign, the expulsion of the Wahabi colony, was not completed, the Akhund, having no desire to be again embroiled in conflict with the British authorities, finally succeeded in expelling them from the country under his influence, to find a new home farther up the Indus Valley. During the remainder of his long life he steadily disapproved of farther raiding across the frontier, and though internal feuds and strife continued, there was no further trouble with the British authorities till the location of a British Resident in Chitral in 1891.



A Guarkhar Regiment on the march
between Razani and Razmak, Waziristan

MOHMANDS.

THE next tribe of importance, to the westward of the Yusufzai, is the Mohmand : claiming also to be Pathans of the Ben-i-Israel. One section settled long ago in the neighbourhood of Peshawar in the plains who have no connection with those beyond the old boundary. The bulk of the tribe occupy two entirely different tracts of country. One a group of long rows of rocky, steep, and barren looking hills, surrounding some more or less fertile valleys, broken up by ravines and usually dry watercourses ; extending from the British (old) frontier between the Swat and Kabul rivers, where these emerge from the hills, on the east, to the Kunar Valley on the west, with Bajaor on the north and the Khyber Pass on the south. In this tract the principal valleys are the Pandiali in the north east corner. Gandab (dirty water) and the Bohai dag, central ; and the two glens known as Big and Little Shilman between the Kabul river and the Khyber. The other tract contains a large area of rich alluvial lands in the Kunar Valley between Asmar, south of Chitral, and the junction with the Kabul river ; and both sides of the Kabul river from

Lalpurah and Dakka to Jelalabad. In these tracts they possess several small towns and numerous villages from which the tribal chiefs, and the Afghan Government in peaceful times, derived a considerable revenue from the land taxes, fees from trading Kafilahs, and from timber rafts floating down the Kabul river.

In the hilly tracts the water supply is very scanty; there are no streams with a constant water supply, and the yearly fall of rain and snow is barely sufficient to provide many springs. Near such springs as there are, are situated the villages, consisting of one or more mud forts in which are enclosed the clusters of mud and stone dwellings of the people. Many, even of these springs, dry up during the excessive heat of the summer months, and the only water obtainable is in holes or hollows in the beds of the stony watercourses, from which the women may be seen carrying the supply for household use, in skin bags, on their backs for miles. The people are poor, yet said to be quarrelsome, treacherous and cruel. Unlike most Pathan tribes, the lesser chiefs of families profess to recognise the authority of certain leading families; the Khans of Lalpurah, on the Kabul river, opposite Dakka, the Khans of Goshta, in the Kunar Valley,and the Khans of Pandiali. The authority of the last is confined to his own small valley. That of Goshta to his immediate neighbourhood, but of Lalpurah over all the tribe. The Khans of Lalpurah, when not in rebellion, or when expecting a visit by a British Column to exact reprisals for raids and murders in British territory, claim to be subject

to the Afghan Government. Of seventeen male members of this family, in three generations, who lived to manhood, eight were killed by brothers or cousins.

The hilly tracts of the Mohmands would be negligable but that through them run several Kafilah trading routes which were used when, before 1878, the Khyber route was disturbed by faction fights—a frequent occurrence. All these routes were outside British jurisdiction before 1878, and had the Mohmands been peaceful neighbours there need not have been any trouble along that part of the frontier. But, for many years, from 1850 onwards, they gave more trouble than almost any other tribe, and in most of these the Khans of Lalpurah had a hand.

As early as 1839 Saadat Khan, being then Chief of Lalpurah, had quarrelled with a cousin named Torabaz. A combined British and Sikh force, under Colonel Wade, was marching to the Khyber, when the main army was marching on Afghanistan, via Kandahar, to reinstate the Saduzai Sultan Shah Sujah on the throne, then occupied by Amir Dost Mahomed Khan. Barakzai Torabaz hastened to meet Colonel Wade, and Saadat at once joined the Barakzai. When Kabul and Jelalabad were occupied Torabaz was appointed chief, but after the disaster to the army, in the retreat, he had to fly—and when doing so he conducted an English lady and child in safety to Peshawar, and the British officers from Pash Bolak, in the Jelalabad Valley, were conducted by Mohmands safely to Peshawar by Shilman. On the final retirement of our armies in 1842, Saadat

was replaced by the Amir, and retained his dislike for the British.

Before the annexation of the Punjab, former Governments had granted lands to the Tarakzai Mohmands near the frontier, partly to prevent raiding, partly to protect trading Kafilahs.

After the annexation they thought they could get more land from the British by starting fresh raids, so strong bodies of them attacked the villages near Shabkadr and Michni, and twice in 1852 small columns under Sir Colin Campbell (afterwards Lord Clyde, of Balaclava fame, and Commander-in-chief in India) went out, drove off the raiders, destroyed forts and towers, and had military forts built at Michni Shabkadr and Abazai, with fortified posts between them, garrisoned by artillery and infantry of the regular army. In spite of this, raids continued, often with loss of life, and other punitive columns went against the raiders in 1854 to 56. Such fighting as resulted was what would now be considered mere skirmishes. The troops never crossed the outer fringe of hills into either the Pandiali or Gandab valleys, and only penetrated a little way up the narrow defile through which the Kabul river winds its way. The principal reason for this forbearance was that the Mohmands were considered subjects of the Afghan Government, though that Government seemed never to have had either the power or desire to interfere, while their deputy at Lalpurah helped the raiders passively or actively, and even screened the murderers

of two British officers during peace time and gave them refuge.

Strange to say, during the 1857 mutiny, the Mohmands, like all the other frontier tribes, held aloof. But during the Ambela campaign of 1863, at the desire of the Akhaud, they attacked Shabkadr in force, only to be again driven into the hills.

In 1878 war was declared against the Amir Sher Ali, by the British Government, as mentioned above. Sher Ali had married a daughter of Saadat Khan, who became the mother of Yukub Khan and Ayub Khan, and the Khan of Lalpurah had been in great favour. Yakub had, by victories against Sher Ali's brother, secured the throne for his father, and was long considered the heir apparent. But the Amir later declared a younger son of a younger wife to be his heir. Yakub rebelled was defeated and imprisoned. His uncle, the new Lalpurah Khan, was driven out and another chief appointed. In 1878 the second Afghan war was declared. Sher Ali had previously occupied the Khyber pass and placed a garrison in Ali Murjid. While the British force was collecting the sons of the deposed chief of Lalpurah came into camp and offered their services to Cavagnari, political officer, and were treated with due respect. Ali Musjid was strongly fortified, and its capture must entail the occupation of the Khyber Pass, and it was desirable to ascertain before the advance what action the Afridis, on one side, and Mohmands, on the other, would take. The Afridi Jirgala was blunt enough. "The Amir had no right to occupy the

Khyber Pass without paying the fee always paid them hitherto for the use of the pass. If the British pay us for the pass, an amount equal to the fees we would have received from traders, they are at liberty to occupy it. We will, in that case, stand aloof."

The Mohmands already occupied a camp on the Rotas Mountain, overlooking and protecting the left flank of the Ali Musjid position. The ruling chief was warned that if he fought against the British he would be turned out as soon as the force advanced. The British attacked on the 21st November; the flank attack found the Rotas heights unoccupied; the Mohmands, seeing the large British force assembled, deserted their post. As soon as Lundi Kotal, at the head of the pass, was occupied, the chiefs of the two small Shilman valleys adjoining the Khyber Pass came and offered their services, and throughout the farther operations never swerved from allegiance. Had the Khyber been evaculated in 1880, as seemed at one time probable, to suite Mr. Gladstone's policy and Lord Ripon's acquiescence, these chiefs would certainly have been murdered, like many others who had assisted the British, by the new Amir Abdul Rahman.

Scarcely had the Khyber been occupied, and the main body of the army moved on to Dakka and Jelalabad, than disturbances occurred, convoys and picquets were fired on, and, until a second force had joined up, it looked as if a general Afridi rising might occur any day. Under the circumstances it was considered desirable to have a survey made of the alternative

Kafilah routes in the Mohmand country, to see their practicality and possibility of improvement. It fell to my lot to undertake this duty after I had completed the survey of the pass. I was joined by the chief of Little Shilman, one Kamran Khan, whom I found a pleasant companion on the hill side. There were two main alternative routes in the Mohmand country used by Kafilahs from Kabul to Peshawar, when the Afridis of the Khyber were busy shooting at each other or demanding more exorbitant fees than those usually paid per camel, mule or donkey, the usual pack animals on these routes.

The best route, as far as physical obstacles are concerned, crossed the Kabul river, from the Jelalabad into the Kunar Valley, a few miles above Lalpurah, and, turning east, ascended the long Silila lateral valley, twenty miles to the Mazarichena Pass, 3,500 feet in elevation, and across it into the Bohai dag, a narrow but fairly level and open valley twenty miles in length, then through a short defile into the Gandab valley, six miles across, through another defile into the plains opposite Shabkadr. After reaching this there still remained the Kabul river to cross near Michni on the way to Peshawar, or both the Kabul and Swat rivers if the objective was Nowshera, and as none of these rivers was bridged they formed rather serious obstacles. It was known as the Gandab route, and, being longer than the others, was only used when, owing to heavy rain or melting snows, the fords on the Kabul river lower down were impassable. But for the then military

purposes it was too far from the line of operations, and too exposed to a combined attack by contingents from all the neighbouring tribes; and any attempt of a surveyor, with a small escort, to attempt it would mean sudden death, or, worse, for all the party, so it had to remain unsurveyed till a more favourable opportunity occurred some twenty years later.

However, with the help of Kamran and others a fair sketch of the valleys and hills along the route was obtained from hill tops overlooking them; with bridges across the rivers and a good road through the short defiles, this might, in time to come, become a route fit for motor cars. The railway through the Khyber has been a severe blow to these farther Mohmands, as few Kafilahs now go that way, and fees have, in consequence, greatly diminished.

South of the Kabul river are two other routes, followed occasionally by Kafilahs, known as the Abkhana, or water route, and the Tatara, so called from the range of hills that lies between the Khyber and the Kabul river. Leaving the Peshawar valley about ten miles north of Janrud, the Tatara route rises and falls from 1,000 to 1,500 feet perpendicular, over a succession of rocky spurs and intervening stony watercourses from the range above, for some twelve miles, to the east end of the Loi (big) Shilman Valley. Across the valley and down a zigzag descent to the village of Kam or little Dakka, near the river; thence some seven miles over broken ground to Loi or big Dakka. From the foot of the hills on the Peshawar side to Shilman, the small

villages along the route are occupied by the Mullaguri, a small tribe, once Hamsayas (under the same shade) really subjects of the Mohmands, but which now consider themselves British subjects, and have practically ceased to steal rifles, etc., from the Peshawar city and cantonment at which they were adepts for many years.

The Abkhana route, leaving Michni, may follow either of two lines, one from Michni, rising, by a long zigzag, to Haidar Khan village, an ascent of over 2,000 feet, and an equally long and steep descent to the river bank where, ordinarily, there is a ferry known as Gatta Gudar, and on to Shilman—the other is more to the north, not quite so steep on ascent as the other, and a shorter fall down to the ferry known as the Shinilo Gudar. The Tatara route, being a considerable height above the river, is, for many months of the year, practically waterless, very hot and very trying to the camels, and was only used when the Khyber was disturbed and the river too deep and swift for either fording or ferrying.

When the survey of the Tatara route was completed, a young Mohmand Khan, Jhung son of Yakubi, proposed that I should also survey the Shinilo branch of the Abkhana route, as it could more easily be improved than any of the others, and, if improved, most Kafilahs would use it, especially if the Shinilo Gudar was bridged. But to do this survey I should take no military escort with me, and trust to his retainers. The route passed within a few miles of Gandab, and the people of those villages might be tempted to attack so small an escort

as a company of Punjab Infantry in the hope of securing some rifles or looting the baggage. So the Company 24 P.I. with me, marched to Dakka, and Jhung, with twenty-five of his retainers, went with me. All went well till we reached the ferry, when we were told that the only boat had been swept away in a recent storm, and there was no other means of crossing so we had better go down the bank and cross by the Gutta Gudar. I said he must have known of the accident, yet had persuaded me to come this way and now I intended to see it through. Here we stuck till about 5 p.m., when a small Shinaz—a raft made of a charpai (bedstead) on six inflated goat skins ; with only room for two or three besides the boatmen. Jhung and I, with my rifle and plane-table, got on the raft, six of his men swam alongside, holding on to the raft, and so we crossed, and told the boatmen to cross for more men. When half way across they called out that the current was too strong for them to cross, so off they went down stream and Jhung became alarmed. Only six followers armed and night coming on. He made the six ferrymen bring their weapons, but all refused to carry the plane-table. Just then two wild-looking characters came out from somewhere and saluted. On being asked who they were, and what they wanted, they said they were Khunis (murderers) outlaws from British territory for some years. They had petitioned for pardon on the score that they were not guilty, as one had only killed a man who had eloped with his wife, and the other had killed a man who had eloped with his sister. So they

had come to offer their services in the hope of getting "chits" (letters) to the Commissioner. So we started off, had one alarm ascending the pass, where we were joined by another contingent of Jhung's men and were safe. They invited me to stay the night, but I was anxious for news, and went on to Michni with only the two murderers as escort, being considered perfectly safe in their company, as along the remaining seven miles to Michni none but outlaws lived in the barren tract. At Michni I received orders to proceed at once to join a column going on an expedition to the Bazaar (Afridi) Valley.

This seven miles of this route remained unsurveyed till about a month later, when I returned to finish it, and to try and find out more about the Gandab route. In the interval I had been to Lundi Kotal, and was astonished one evening by seeing my friend Kamran, in chains, between some soldiers. When he saw me he suddenly rushed up and threw himself at my feet. It appeared that for some time parties of Mohmands, from Gandab and elsewhere, had made a practice of stealing Government camels when out grazing or from the outskirts of the camp at night. The commanding officer, being responsible, expected to have to pay for the lost camels, or at least be censured; so issued a notice that the next marauder, if caught, would be shot, and the headman of any village to which lost camels were traced would share the same fate. Three more camels were stolen, and trackers traced them to Kamran's village, which was on the ordinary route to

Gandab and Palosi on the river. He was arrested and sentenced to be shot next morning. He had pointed this out, and said, if released, he would return in three days, with or without the camels. Naturally this was refused. I pleaded for him with the Commanding officer, and finally he said, Will you pay for the camels if Kamran does not return? On hearing this Kamran touched me and said, Will you let 300 rupees come between you and my life? I could not refuse, and, till the third evening, was much chaffed for trusting a Pathan. But at 9 p.m. on the third evening camel bells were heard. Kamran had, with his men, traced the camels to Palosi, and purchased them from the robbers.

Next morning I started for Shinilo, with an escort of twenty men of the 24 P.I., and had no idea of there being any danger so close to Michni, on a road I had been along safely at night. Having finished the seven miles I went to the top of a hill from which a good view of Gandab and country beyond was obtained, when suddenly three gun shots were heard, and we saw a strong party, with a flag, and swords flashing, coming up from Gandab, so the guard formed up and we started to get away at a good pace. But they were too quick for us, attacked from under cover of the bushes, and after a long skirmish we got away with the loss of two sepoys killed with swords and some others wounded. Why they did not all close in and chop us all up I could never understand.

It turned out that a rabid Mullah, named Khalil, had started preaching *Jihad,* and this was the first result.

Shortly after strong bodies of Mohmands crossed the river near Kam Dakka, and some severe fighting occurred before they were driven back again. On this occasion Captain (afterwards General Sir) O'Moore Creagh earned his V.C., having, with some companies of Mhairwaras, lately recruited, held at bay several hundred Mohmands for twenty-four hours.

Shortly after this the Amir Sher Ali abdicated in favour of his son Yakub Khan, whom he released from prison for the purpose,and went off to Afghan Turkestan, intending to appeal to the Russians, who, it appears, sent him a reply to the effect that he had been promised aid if he invaded India, not if the British invaded his territory. It was reported that on receipt of this he retired to his tent and died brokenhearted.

After the murder of the Cavagnari Mission by the Kabul mob and soldiers in 1879, and the abdication of Yakub Khan and his deportation to India, the Mohmands, from the north of the Kabul river, rose in arms and again crossed the river near Dakka, and sustained heavy losses. After the accession of Abdul Rahman to the Afghan throne in 1880, and the evacuation of Afghanistan by the British armies, there was little trouble except occasional raids on the Mohmand frontiers, until the general rising of the tribes in 1893-97. The trouble with the Mohmands was instigated by the Afghan General in the Kunar district, Ghulam Haidar Khan, and certain Mullahs, fresh from a big durbar in Kabul, where Abdul Rahman had extolled the virtues of holy war against infidels,

It has been mentioned that Abdul Rahman had very reluctantly agreed to accept the Durand boundary line, especially that portion on the Mohmand section, by which one portion of the tribal lands came under British control while the rest remained under the Afghan Government.

Fortunately, the actual demarcation was in the hands of a Senior Officer of the Survey of India Department, of unique and extensive experience in boundary work on this frontier and elsewhere. By his tact he, for the time being, allayed the friction between the Afghan General and the British Chief Political Officer, caused by a proclamation issued by the latter on the subject. Any slight indiscretion on the part of the Survey Officer might have led to hostilities, perhaps another " Kabul Massacre " of British officers and most disastrous consequences.

The division of the tribal allegiance was bound to cause trouble sooner or later, and did so after the preaching of the Mullahs, and again on the accession of Ex-King Amanulla.

This, and much more trouble with neighbouring tribes, might have been avoided if, by the treaty of Gandamak, the Jelalabad Valley had been ceded to the British. The bulk of the cultivators are Tajiks, who, with the large communities of Hindu traders in the towns, would have been delighted with the change of rulers, if not the Afghan officials and Mohmand landowners.

AFRIDIS.

THE next great Pathan tribe on the British frontier is the Afridi, deriving most of its importance from the fact that it occupies the Khyber Pass, the eastern section of the shortest and most frequented trading and military route from Kabul city and the great frontier town and cantonment of Peshawar. The formidable nature of this pass and its occupants has been much exaggerated in the past owing to the widespread but mistaken notion that it was in this pass that Elphinstone's British-Indian Brigade of nearly 5,000 combatants, about a tenth of whom were British, and its 15,000 camp followers, were destroyed in 1842—whereas the tragedy occurred over a hundred miles west of the pass, within thirty of Kabul city. From the group of lofty mountains round Kabul a long arm or range is thrown eastward for over 200 miles to the Indus river at Attok, known, for a great part of its length, as the Safed Koh or White Mountain from the snow on the summit. For the first forty miles the northern spurs from the range form a confused mass of steep mountain slopes with deep rocky ravines and watercourses

between them, mostly draining into the Surkhab river, which crosses the route a few miles west of Gandamak and falls into the Kabul river near Jelalabad. Thus far the hills extend to the banks of the Kabul river and confine it in a difficult narrow defile.

From this neighbourhood the northern slopes diminish in length, and for the next forty miles the fairly level and largely alluvial valley of Jelalabad, some ten to fifteen miles in width, lies between the foothills and the river. The bold forest covered spurs falling from the crest widen out near the edge of the valley into broad stony fanshaped plateaux—said to be remains of ancient moraines, with several stony watercourses between them, some having several acres of culturable land with terraced fields between the banks.

The hills and glens, as far east as the Surkhab, are occupied by sections of the great Ghilzai tribe, who thus command the Khurd Kabul and the Lataband routes to Jelalabad. The hill slopes farther east are occupied in about equal proportions by Khugianis and Shinwaris in the tract known as Ningrahar, who have always been considered subjects of the rulers of Afghanistan, though the latter, especially, have always been rather unruly subjects. The highest peak of the Safed Koh, known as Sikaram or Sikarram, 15,620 feet above sea, stands about due south of Gandamak. From this point the crest of the range runs at an average height of between 14 and 15,000 feet above sea almost due east forty miles till opposite Dakka. Here, at 14,000 feet, it throws out several long spurs like the fingers of a hand, north,

east and south, the central one continuing as far as Attok, the others ending on the south bank of the Kabul river, the plains of Peshawar and Kohat and the Kunar Valley. Enclosed between these subsidiary ranges or spurs are the valleys and glens occupied by the Afridi, Urakzai, Zaimukht, and some lesser tribes ; all typical Pathans, the sole outward difference being that the Afridis shave their heads, the others wear long locks. None of these tribes ever recognised more than a very shadowy doubtful allegiance to the Afghan or any other Government. The Afridi tribe is divided into eight principal clans, each of these being subdivided into numerous septs ; in fact, except in matters concerning the whole tribe or clan, each family is a separate unit with its own recognised head and its particular plots of ground. Six of the clans occupy the country from the end of the Safed Koh to the Kohat pass between Kohat and Peshawar. The valleys and hills to the eastward are occupied by the other two clans, the Adamkhel and Akakhel for about thirty miles to the east, where it reaches the British administrative boundary and the hills of the Khatak tribe ; British subjects. The principal valleys occupied by the six clans are the Maidan, an elevated circular basin about 5,000 feet above sea, and some ten miles in diameter, intersected by several large watercourses, falling from the high forest-clad mountains surrounding it. The several watercourses combining form the Shilobar Toi, which finds its exit through a two mile long, narrow defile on the northern side into the next valley, Rajgal,

some ten miles in length and about three in breadth. The two streams, as the Bara river, run eastward for some twenty miles down a long narrow defile between two mountain ranges rising from 6 to 8,000 feet above sea, whose bases often close in to within a few yards, in other places widen out sufficiently to allow space for a few acres of terraced rice fields. North of the Bara is the parallel but lesser Bazaar valley which, like the others, is wide at the upper end and ends in a narrow defile. The next in succession is the famous Khyber, through which runs the most frequented military and trade route from Kabul to the Punjab.

To the south of the Maidan and Bara Valleys are the lands of the Urakzai, the Masturi and Wakhan Valley, draining into an affluent of the Bara and the more rocky and steep Khanki Toi, running into the plains of Kohat.

The more elevated portions of the valleys are known as Tirah, long considered by the tribes as a paradise of delicious fruits and flowers, of bubbling springs of sweet water and cool shades, and, no doubt, it is so compared with the dry, stony, almost treeless lower hills and glens. Tirah was considered impregnable till the campaign under Sir William Lockhart in 1897-8.

Each clan has its own special section, a cool region in Tirah for the summer months, and a hot one in the lower hills for the cold months when the higher lands are buried in snow; and the families with cattle and flocks migrate between them twice a year.

Up to about a century ago it was customary for the six clans to exchange locations so that each could have

the benefit of the more fertile ones in turn. In the course of these changes the Zakha Khel secured a belt cutting across from the Khyber to Maidan and refused to change it when the usual period expired. They thus were placed between the hot and cold locations of the other clans, built strong towers at intervals, and gained an ascendency over the others, who, when at feud with them, had to make long detours to avoid conflicts, when, owing to the presence of their families, they were at a disadvantage. The result of this domination, by the most restless and mercenary of the clans, caused serious trouble later.

As the Khyber, from end to end, lies in tribal lands, each clan occupies a section, and is entitled to the fees paid by all caravans and travellers using the route to and from India. The correct distribution of the proceeds, whenever doubtful, was the cause of deadly strife, when shots were exchanged between neighbouring towers of different clans, which feuds often induced Kafilahs to turn aside at Dakka along the routes in Mohmand country, the consequent losses in fees resulting in fresh bickerings and shootings, and, of course, more blood feuds. Probably owing to these feuds and migrations there are few large villages or small towns in these valleys as in Yusufzai and the Mohmand country. Each petty sub-clan or group of families has a few huts walled and clustered round towers some thirty yards in diameter and twenty to twenty-five feet in height, the only entrance being a doorway high up to which access is obtained by rope ladders dropped on to

the roofs below. In the cooler regions many live in temporary sheds under the shade of trees, and, whether huts or caves are occupied or are lying vacant, there is little in them that cannot be removed in a few minutes when feuds or fights are in progress. Heavier articles, such as ploughs, bedsteads, etc., are safe if placed in graveyards. The Khyber Valley, like most in these hills, is somewhat, in shape, like an elongated pear, the broad end being at the head of the valley the inevitable defile at the lower end might represent the stalk.

From the low hills at the eastern end of the Jelalabad Valley a steep ascent, of some 1,500 feet in height, rise to the Lundi Kotal, the head of the pass, where the cantonment stands. Here the valley is about five miles in width, the hill ranges enclosing it to north and south converge, and about six miles down close inwards till their bases, through which the defile runs for about two miles, are often bt a few yards apart. On emerging from this defile, the Fort of Ali Musjid stands on the top of a conical hill about 500 feet higher and 500 yards distant. In front is a small piece of alluvial land on which the Musjid stood. On either side rise the tremendous rocky steep slopes, some 3 to 4,000 feet above the stream bed, Rotas on the left, Aspoghar on the right. About half a mile below the Musjid the Khyber stream turns southward and, after a winding course, finds an exit some three miles down on to the plain near Fort Jamrud. The road leaves the stream bed at the turning, ascends a few hundred feet to the little Shergai plateau, and descends along the right

bank of a ravine into the plain. The total length from Lundi Kotal to the exit is about fifteen miles. Except the two miles through the gorge above Ali Musjid, the Khyber portion of this Kafilah route was easier to traverse than any of the other routes through the mountains, even before the railway and motor roads that now traverse it were constructed. The upper end of the valley is occupied by a section of the Shinwari tribe, the rest of the valley and the low hills near the eastern end are divided between each of six clans of the Afridi tribe ; thus emphasising the right of each of these clans to a proportion of pass money paid by Kafilahs, traders or troops using the pass.

Little is known of the origin of the tribe. Legend connects it with a small Jewish kingdom or community which held territory somewhere near Herat, and was converted to Islam about the 10th century. This may be another version of the Ben-i-Israel legend or tradition. The following descriptions of the men of the tribe have been given by writers who knew them well. " The Afridi, in appearance, is generally a fine, tall, athletic highlander, whose springy step, even in traversing the dirty streets of Peshawar, at once denotes his mountain origin. They are lean but muscular men, with long, gaunt faces, high noses and cheek bones, and rather fair complexions. They are brave and hardy, make good soldiers, but are apt to become homesick. They are careful shots and skirmishers, patiently awaiting for the chance of an easy shot at an enemy. They wear a coarse, home-made, blue (more often khaki) shirt, loose

trousers closing in at the ankles, sandals, a large, jauntily placed turban (above a skull cap on their shaven heads) and a waistband in which they fix a long knife, or *chura*, and pistols, and fomrerly carried powder horn, flint and steel for their long *Jezails*, or Matchlocks, now replaced by modern breechloading rifles, purchased or stolen."

Another writer says, "They are a most avaricious race, desperately fond of money, their fidelity is measured by the length of purse of the seducers." Yet another opinion is that "On the whole the Afridi is one of the finest of the Pathan races. His appearance is much in his favour, and he is really braver, more open, and not more treacherous than most other Pathans. He has the power of prejudicing Englishmen in his favour, and there are few brought into contact with him who do not at least begin with an enthusiastic admiration of his manliness." This last opinion, I venture to suggest, would, in the main, have agreed with that of the late Colonel R. Warburton, many years political officer in the Khyber, who knew both their good and evil qualities as no other Englishman did, and who, if not loved, was reverenced by every man of the tribe, with good reason. Such is the tribe with whom the British officers have come most in contact on the frontier. Ever since the British have been on this frontier hundreds of Afridis have served in the ranks of the army, especially in the regiments of the Punjab Frontier Force, in the 20th and 24th Punjab Infantry, and certain other battalions. Their officers have always trusted them, many of them have distinguished themselves on the frontier, even

against their own people, and in other wars. The cases of desertion were comparatively few, even when employed against other Afridis, at least till the last Great War, in which their record was not so clear; the principal reason for which being probably that death, disease and promotion had removed most of their officers, British and native, and the old soldiers, in the first years of the war.

The Afridi is especially an expert skirmisher on a hill side. Unlike some of the other Pathan tribes, he has, in fighting against British troops at least, carefully avoided wasting his strength and the manhood of his clan by charging, sword in hand, against advancing troops or troops in position. He early realised that it was safer for himself and more harassing to the enemy, to sit among rocks on heights overlooking the foe and using his rifle with care, or quietly awaiting a chance for cutting in when the retirement, sooner or later, of the invading force commenced. He had, also, ever to bear in mind that when the foreign foe had gone old feuds might be renewed or new ones started, and any clan that had suffered heavy losses might have a bad time. It was necessary to keep up a correct "Balance of Power." In judging of the character of the Afridi it should be noted that among themselves and their neighbours while one clan—say Malikdin Khel—is considered to be faithful to obligations, honest in its dealings, never guilty of treachery, and not mercenary. Another clan the Zakka Khel is considered to be devoid of all these virtues, and always ready, on payment, to

act as mercenaries for the highest bidder. Though active in fighting, hunting or other amusement, the men of the tribe are lazy at home. Not only all household work, as well as collecting firewood and forage, and carrying water for household use, but much of the work in the field is done by the women; nor is their assistance ignored even in faction fights.

The Afridis have often been denounced as untrustworthy and treacherous, yet there are no recorded cases of any Englishmen, who have been amongst them as guests, being murdered by their escorts. British officers, of Pathan regiments and companies, could tell many a tale of the devotion to them, and to their soldierly duties, under trying circumstances, as during expeditions against their own people, and in the Ambela Campaign of 1863, when the great religious leader, the Akhund of Swat, and other notable Mullahs and Syuds, were daily denouncing the Pathans in our ranks as renegades and infidels. In 1841-2, when the news of the Kabul disaster spread, and every tribe from Kabul to Peshawar rose against the British, the Corps of Afridi Levies, from Pesh Bolak in the Jelalabad Valley, escorted Lieutenant Ferris and other officers safely through the hills to Peshawar. A few incidents personally known to me may not be out of place here. During one of the frontier fights a British officer noticed a young sepoy weeping over a fallen enemy. On being asked the reason the lad pointed to the body saying: "that is my father." On the officer suggesting that the lad would now like to "cut his name"—"No," replied

the lad, " it was his fate to be there, mine here." After a day's work in one of the Afridi expeditions, towards evening a signalling officer, with an Afridi orderly, when nearing camp, was fired at by three men in some long grass near a cave. The orderly, fixing his bayonet, rushed into the grass and shot and bayonetted all three men. As he was examing their faces, the officer, commending his courage, said he would bring his conduct to the notice of the General. " Not a word, Sahib—that is my cousin," was the reply. So the orderly had to wait some months before he got his *Bahadari*—Order of Merit.

Unfortunately there were two murders of public importance committed by Afridis without any apparent justification ; that of Colonel Mackeson, Commissioner of Peshawar, stabbed in open court—not by a religious fanatic, but by an ordinary villager who alleged that he had suffered an intolerable insult. The other, traced to its cause, throws a strong light on the workings of a Pathan mind, trained, in the absence of any judicial or police protection, to defend his own person and honour, and obey the rule of " an eye for an eye, a life for a life." It was the assassination of Lord Mayo, Viceroy of India, by an Afridi convict. Sher Ali, as a young man, joined a Cavalry Corps as a trooper on the outbreak of the great mutiny of 1857-8 ; and served in Oudh and Rohilkhand. On return to Peshawar he joined the Peshawar Mounted Police and, as an orderly to the Commissioner, went through the Ambela Campaign, during which he twice, presumably, saved the lives of

British officers by cutting down Boner assailants. A few years later, when I was in camp in the Peshawar district, Sher Ali, when carrying letters to outlying police posts, occasionally spent a night in my camp; a man of fine physique, ruddy complexion, cheery manner, always ready for a joke or a laugh. He seemed to me a man that one would like beside him in a tight scrimmage, or when hunting big game on a hill side. Of course, he had several blood feuds on hand. He, on one occasion, had just returned after a month's leave, during which two hereditary feud debts had been scored off, when he heard that an enemy, being unable to find a man of the family, had shot his sister—a most unusual occurrence among Pathans. Unable to get leave again he, through a friend, lured the murderer to Peshawar, and, next morning, the man was found with a knife in him, unfortunately *within* the British boundary line. The police in the nearest post had seen three Afridis pass that way the previous evening; one was Sher Ali, another the victim. Sher Ali was arrested and tried by the Deputy Commissioner and two Pathan Assessors. He refused to plead either guilty or not guilty, merely observing that the knife was not his. The Englishman decided he was guilty, the Assessors disagreed with him, so the accused was sentenced to transportation for life to the Andamans. He addressed the court, recalling his past services, and the provocation, and begged that he might be sentenced to death, not to the Black Water. When told it could not be, he said: "You will hear of me again, and so

will my people." As a convict he behaved well, and was granted a ticket of leave on the island. He heard the Viceroy was coming on a visit and, at dusk, stabbed Lord Mayo near the landing stage, to the horror and sorrow of all India, Native and European.

Though tribal and family blood feuds are the cause of many murders, they probably also prevent more. However passionate and uncontrolled by law a man may be he must often hesitate to strike when he knows that from that moment his own life is forfeited, and he knows not when or whence the blow may fall, but that it is inevitable. The unintentional manslayer may find safety for a time in certain inviolable refuges as a Musjid or shrine, or by escaping across the frontier to India, but the day of reckoning awaits him, and generally he will try rather to avert the danger by farther murders than give up home and country for ever.

For several years, between 1842 and 1878, the Khyber Afridis ceased raiding in large bodies across the frontier, but individuals and small parties committed most daring thefts, especially of rifles, and many in the Peshawar cantonments and city. These, however, were punished generally by blackades, not expeditions.

The Khyber Pass was first occupied by a force under British officers in 1839. In accordance with the Tripartite treaty, a Sikh force was to co-operate with the British invasion of Afghanistan *via* Kandahar, by sending an army up the Khyber route. After some delays a mixed body of Hindustani Sepoys, Sikhs and Afghans, under the control of Captain Wade, political

officer, entered and occupied the pass without any serious opposition, and went on to Jelalabad. No doubt the Afridis were well paid for the use of the pass, and a corps of Afridi levies, under Lieutenant Ferris, was organised to assist in guarding the line of communications, when, after the revolt in Kabul, the Pathan tribes, right down the line, rose against the British, a Mohmand chief rescued an English lady and child, and the men of the Afridi Corps escorted their British officers safely to Peshawar. While the siege of Jelalabad was in progress in 1842, another mixed Hindustani and Sikh force was sent to occupy the Khyber, under Colonel Wild. But the entrance of the pass was held by a strong force of Afridis. The Sikhs simply refused to attack, and the Sepoys, whose muskets were outranged by the Afridi *Jezails*, on reaching the ground refused to attack, and fell back in confusion, followed by the enemy.

In April, 1842, General Pollocks' Army, composed of the 9th British Infantry, and some native infantry regiments, with several batteries of foot and horse artillery and some native cavalry corps, in addition to the 3rd Dragoons, arrived at Jamrud. It appears to have been the custom in those days to capture hill passes and defiles by going straight ahead at them without troubling to clear the heights on their flanks, except by artillery fire, which was not effectual beyond 500 yards. The Afridis, holding the pass, evidently expected similar tactics on this occasion. The entrance into the low hills on either side the Shadi Baghiar watercourse is some three miles from the fort of Ali Musjid, which,

at that time, was not in good repair nor armed with artillery. The Afridis had placed a heavy barrier of mud, stones and trees across the bed of the stream and sangars (stone breastworks) on the banks of the lateral ravines, and then awaited the frontal attack. Before dawn, columns, headed by some companies of the 9th (Holy Boys) quietly marched out and ascended the hills above the ravines on both flanks, and when day broke the Afridis, instead of having the fun of firing down on their enemies, were themselves under fire from above, and soon broke and bolted. The hills climbed on that occasion were not more than 300 or 400 feet above the stream, yet it was considered a very creditable feat. But the lesson was well learned, and when a few months later the British and Afghan armies met at Jagdallak and Tezin, the enemy were driven from heights several thousand feet above the battlefields with the bayonet, after long climbs under the heavy fire of *Jezails*, to which our men could not reply during the ascent.

On the withdrawal of the British armies from Afghanistan the Khyber was evacuated, and no British force entered it again till 1878.

After the Russo-Turkish War of 1877, when the British Government saved Constantinople from capture, whether with an eye to future enlargement of the Empire or merely to annoy, a Russian Embassy was sent to Kabul, and more or less cordially received by the Amir Sher Ali, who at the time was annoyed at what he considered slights by the Indian Government. The British Government, Lord Beaconsfield being Prime Minister, decided

that the Amir should be informed that having, contrary to treaties, received a Russian Embassy in his Capital, a British Embassy, under Sir Neville Chamberlain, would shortly proceed to Kabul. Meantime the Amir had repaired the fort at Ali Musjid and garrisoned it with regular regiments of his standing army. A second force was stationed on the Peiwar Kotal or pass leading into the Kuram Valley, and the garrison of Kandahar was reinforced. Each garrison was provided with heavy and mountain batteries, which were mounted on the forts, and at Ali Musjid mountain guns were placed at numerous points on the hill sides commanding the Kafilah route. On the Embassy nearing Ali Musjid the Commandant informed Sir Neville Chamberlain that if the Embassy attempted to pass the fort it would be fired on. So it was recalled and an ultimatum sent to the Amir demanding a free unopposed passage. If a favourable reply was not received in a month British forces would invade Afghanistan.

The Amir, seemingly trusting to a Russian promise to support him in any attack on India—failed to reply, and on the 21st November Sir Sam Browne's force crossed the frontier. It is interesting to note the changes in arms, clothing equipment and methods of hill warfare that had taken place in the interval between the two wars. Instead of the old muzzle-loading flint-lock muskets, carrying one ounce spherical balls about 200 yards with effect, the British Infantry had breechloading Martini, and the Indian regiments Snider rifles sighted to 2,000 and 1,100 yards respectively.

The Amir's infantry were armed partly with Sniders, partly Enfields, instead of *Jezails*. The enemy's artillery, heavy and light, had mostly been presented to the Amir by the British Government, and were in good order and well served. Our horse artillery 9-pounders were more powerful weapons but otherwise there was not much change. The mountain guns on both sides, instead of 3-pounders drawn by mules, were 7-pounders carried by those sturdy animals. Instead of thick red coatees, black cloth trousers, shakos, and stiff leather stocks round the necks, all ranks were in light khaki clothing and helmets and no stiff collars to interfere with the breathing. Large tents and camp followers were kept in Base Camps.

The entrance to the pass and the surrounding ravines were unoccupied by the enemy. The defending force occupied the fort and placed detachments behind sangars (stone breastworks), on the hill tops, at points of vantage on the hill sides, and in the broken ground within the covering fire of their artillery.

The Afridis and Mohmands had been asked what part they intended taking in case of our advance. The Afridis replied that the Amir had occupied the pass without paying the usual fees so they were under no obligation to him, and the British could use the pass without any tribal interferences if they paid an amount equal to a year's income from that source. The Mohmands made no reply, but when the British force assembled their tents were visible on the Rotas heights 5,000 feet high, covering the Afghan left flank. Bodies

of Afridis occupied the crest of the 6,000 feet Aspoghar on the Afghan right flank, but without standards. They were merely lookers-on awaiting events.

Sir Sam Browne's force consisted of four Brigades. On the night of 21st November two Brigades marched out seven miles to the foot of Rotas. Next morning one Brigade climbed up the front of Rotas expecting strong opposition, but the crest was deserted, the Mohmands having left during the night. The other Brigade, crossing the range, descended into the pass to the west of the defile, thus closing that line of retreat. The other two Brigades made a frontal attack covered by the fire of the 40-pounders, but made little progress. The Amir's troops evacuated their position during the night and there was no further opposition by regular troops during the rest of the campaign on this line.

But in the Khyber the first division of the British Army had barely passed on, leaving a garrison at Lundi Kotal and detachments at other points to guard the line of communications, when parties of Afridis commenced a serious of attacks on convoys, signalling parties and picquets, and despite punishments inflicted on suspected parties troubles increased.

Meantime a second division of the Army was mobilised, under General Maude, with headquarters at Jamrud, and an assistant political officer appointed to the Khyber direct from the foreign office at Simla, where it was seriously desired that every effort should be made to prevent being embroiled with the Afridi and other tribes,

The headmen of the six sections in the pass were summoned and interrogated. Among them was one Khwas Khan, of fine presence, expressive features, polite manners, and plausible in speech. He appears to have persuaded the political officer that he was really the recognised headman of all the six sections, and if the pass dues were entrusted to him he would distribute them in correct proportions. This policy was adopted but attacks continued and increased in boldness. Khwas assured the authorities that the raiders were not Khyber men but parties from the next valley Bazaar, and finally it was decided to send a column into that valley from Ali Musjid and another to co-operate from Dakka, thus entering the valley from both ends. The Dakka column had to find its way through a very intricate mass of hills and ravines occupied by the Shinwaris, and had rather a rough job. The Ali Musjid column, some 1,500 strong, marched after dark on the evening of 19th December, 1878, the objective being a collection of caves guarded by a substantial tower some fourteen miles distant which, it was hoped, would be reached by dawn next morning. The march was to be conducted in complete silence, no lights allowed. The night was dark, the route a mere cattle track through woods of acacia or stretches of long grass. At dawn the column reached a friendly village six miles from the starting point. The headmen came up and saluted, the rest of the villagers were calmly seated on a hill above deeply interested in the operations. The objective was reached late in the

day without serious opposition and found deserted. Both columns bivouacked, and messages were sent to summon the leading men of the locality to be informed, through Khwas Khan, on what terms they could escape having their towers blown to pieces.

I had settled down for the night among some rocks, just above the entrance to one of the large caves, and about nine o'clock Khwas and others entered the cave, the former angrily exclaiming : " One thousand rupees. They will make more than that for wood, sheep, grass and down-trodden crops. For two years I have been trying to get hold of this tower. Since the English came I have tried to persuade the Poltikal Sahib that these are the men who have been shooting at soldiers and made sure it would be blown up, now—1,000 rupees ! "

Shortly after a party of ragged Afridis entered the cave and Khwas did his duty. " You sons of burnt fathers, the Sahib refuses to see you. You have broken faith, clear out. Your towers will be destroyed to-morrow." The deputation departed swearing, and as soon as they were outside the picquets fired off their *Jezails* into camp. The towers were blown up. The columns returned to their quarters, but troubles continued. A second expedition, in greater force, occupied the valley later, and for a time it seemed that the whole Afridi tribes would be up in arms. Fortunately this was staved off. There was sufficient work still in hand farther west to render it advisable to keep the Afridis out of the row. By the peace of Gandamak, in May,

1879, the Khyber Pass was ceded to the British and a cantonment was formed at Lundi Kotal. A body of Afridi levies was enrolled to guard the road now constructed between Jamrud and Lundi Khana for troops and traders. For offences committed on this road the tribal chiefs were held responsible, but they were left to manage their own social affairs in their own way. Colonel R. Warburton, who understood the Pathan character better than perhaps any other Englishman, was appointed in political charge, and under his sympathetic management the Khyber had peace for many years. It was not till he was retired on pension that the great tribal outbreaks of 1893-7 occurred. It is quite probable that had Warburton Sahib still been in authority at the time the Afridis as a tribe would not have revolted against British domination, and most certainly the Afridi levies, who garrisoned Lundi and Ali Mudjid, would not have been done to death by their own people after desperate fighting, while 10,000 British troops in Peshawar were prevented, by the chief civil and military authorities on the spot, from sending a man to the rescue.

Between the years 1842 and 1878 no raids on a large scale were made by the men of the six clans occupying Tirah, the Khyber and adjoining valleys and hills; small parties and individuals from the foot hills and winter grazing grounds committed daring robberies, especially of firearms in the Peshawar cantonment and city, which sometimes were punished by blockades, sometimes by counter raids; the other two clans of

Adam Khel and Aka Khel, who occupy the group of hills between the Peshawar and Kohat districts, gave much trouble. The only direct road between the two important frontier cantonments passes for several miles along the banks of a usually dry watercourse, flanked by high, rocky, steep hills in the lands of this tribe, then makes a stiff zigzag ascent to and descent from the head of a pass, and from the base a straight run of eight or nine miles to Kohat. The British boundary of Kohat is on the crest of the pass. As with other passes, all traders and others using this route were compelled to pay certain fees. As early as 1850 an arrangement was made with the Malks, or chiefs, by which, in return for an annual subsidy, they undertook to protect traders and all British subjects using the pass, but could not be induced, at that time, to permit the construction of a good road through it.

There seemed to be no reason why the section within British limits, from the head of the pass to Kohat, which was very difficult, should not be improved. A company of sappers started on this work, were suddenly and unexpectedly attacked by a large body of Pass Afridis, and most of the sepoys were killed or wounded. This was beyond bearing, and a punitive force, under Sir Colin Campbell, marched into the pass, in spite of some opposition, and destroyed a few towers, but could do little else against a nimble enemy in his own hill refuge.

A more effectual means adopted for preventing and punishing such offences was the "blockade." All members of the offending tribe or clan were forbidden

to cross the boundary, any found within British limits were arrested, all cattle and camels or flocks were impounded, all trade with British villages stopped. Through the Kohat Pass was conveyed salt from the Bahadar Khal mines on the Indus, to the Afridi and other frontier tribes, and brought the Pass Afridis a considerable revenue, while the loss of winter grazing grounds caused loss and inconvenience. The sale of firewood, grass, *ghi*, wool, honey, etc., in cantonments, with the proceeds of which salt, sugar, tea, cloth, etc., were purchased for sale in the inner hills, being prevented, added to the other losses, and sooner or later the offenders had to submit. Even a strict blockade was not always successful. Between 1850 and 1877 troops had to cross the frontier about six times. The two most important expeditions were directed against the Jowaki clan of the Adam Khel in 1853 and 1877. On the last occasion more than 5,000 combatants were engaged. Every glen and valley of the clan was occupied, every tower destroyed, many cattle died, the families suffered in the wintry cold; only then did the chiefs come into camp and ask for terms. These were a fine in cash, of course but a small fraction of what the expedition had cost—the surrender of a certain number of rifles and other weapons in Peshawar,—and the surrender of two noted outlaws for murderous raids. The old chief of the tribe replied: "We will pay the fine, we will surrender our arms, but those two men have taken refuge with us. We will not give them up. You are in possession of our country. Keep it, we will

seek a home elsewhere, but those men we will not give up. Why will you blacken our faces ? "

Needless to say, they got back their home and kept the refugees. As an amusing sequel to the campaign next year, when the second Afghan War started, the *Jowaki Maliks sought and obtained the contract for supplying camels to convey military stores from Rawal* Pindi to Kuram for General Roberts' army, and more than made up the amount of their losses every month that the war lasted. There was no raiding there then.

Since that campaign there have been no more raids by the Adam Khel. A good motor road now runs from Peshawar to Kohat. A subsidy is still paid to the Maliks for guarding the road.

SHINWARIS.

It has been mentioned that a British column operating against the Afridis of the Bazaar Valley from Dakka had to traverse a portion of the country occupied by the Pathan Shinwari tribe as being the only line of access from the west. This tribe was not placed under British control by any of the treaties with the Afghan Government, but as it touches on the Afridi country, and affords a refuge to criminals and outlaws from British territory, and has taken a prominent part in the recent disturbances in Afghanistan, a short description of the tribe, and the section of country it occupies, may not be out of place. The Shinwaris are evidently of the same stock as their Afridi neighbours. They occupy the crest and northern slopes of the great Safed Koh range for a breadth of about thirty miles, from the western limits of the Afridi tribe to the neighbourhood of Jelalabad. The crest of the range here averages from 14,000 to 15,000 feet above sea. The slopes above 12,000, when not under snow, have a rich coating of grass forming excellent grazing ground during the hot months, from about 12,000 down to 8,000 the slopes are

covered with fairly dense forests of edible pine—*Chilgoza*—lower down with wild olive, acacia, and ilex of rather stunted growth. From the crest are thrown out northward a succession of bold spurs, between which are steep-sided ravines, generally well wooded.

Along the Afridi border these spurs break up into several intricate hills and ravines with little or no room for cultivation, and the occupants are practically nomads, dwelling in caves or blanket tents. Farther west the several spurs fall, in bold outlines, rapidly to about 6,000 feet, then widen out into gently sloping fanlike plateaux, broken here and there by hillocks or low ridges, till they finally merge into the alluvial plain of Jelalabad. At the upper ends of the fans the watercourses widen out, and there are considerable areas of culturable land covered with terraced fields of rice, wheat, barley or maize according to the season, and an abundance of fruit trees, especially mulberries and walnuts. In favourable positions for defence against outsiders, as well as during faction fights, are several villages composed of square forts with towers, in which the tribal families are located. Each family, or small groups of families, seem to have its own separate fort, several within easy shooting range of one another. Such are the villages of Maizena, Maidanak, Deh Sarak and others, each in its own special ravine or watercourse perched on a separate knoll. The tribe can probably muster about 16,000 fighting men, now all armed with modern rifles. The upper slopes and crest of the Safed Koh afford them an inaccessible retreat if hard pressed;

and the Kafilah routes across Jelalabad excellent opportunities for looting. The low country bordering on them is occupied by Mohmands in several large villages, so raids against them are infrequent. Even the large village of Pesh Bolak, occupied, almost exclusively, by Hindu trading families, is seldom molested.

The tribe is supposed to be subject to the Afghan Governor of Jelalabad, to whom they usually pay the ordinary land, grazing and trading taxes, and are supposed to provide a contingent for the army when called on.

The marching of troops and convoys through Jelalabad in 1839-42 gave opportunities for plunder that the Shinwaris could not resist. They joined the Ghilzais and Khugianis during the retreat and destruction of Elphinstones' Brigade and in the siege of Jelalabad. The advance of General Pollocks' army gave them fresh hopes of plunder, but on this occasion they were the sufferers. The forts of Maizena and Deh Sarak were captured and blown up after some sharp fighting, and among other articles brought away from the previous fighting was a field piece, now retaken. They seem to have taken little part in the civil wars preceding the accession of Sher Ali, but when that monarch desired to enhance the taxes, and conscript a number of young men for his new standing army, the Shinwaris rose in rebellion. A force, partly of regular troops, was sent to coerce them and attacked the village of Deh Sarak. The Shinwaris abandoned most of the forts and kept up a distant fire from neighbouring heights till the

troops commenced a retirement, when the Shinwaris rushed down in a semi-circular formation. sword in hand, and succeeded in closing round the force at a narrow gorge below the village, dispersed the infantry and captured the guns and baggage.

In 1879 they constantly harrassed convoys of British troops to and from Jelalabad, and at Maidanak attacked a survey party, killing the British officer commanding the escort, wounding the engineer survey officer and causing about a dozen other casualties. A British force, of 2,000 combatants, was sent, under General Tytler, to punish the section of the tribe. But seeing the strength of the force the Shinwaris climbed the nearest heights and squatted there, sending a deputation to the General. Several forts were destroyed and hostages for a fine taken. The column returned to camp without a shot being fired. The same day the people of Deh Sarak, some miles to the east, attacked a small sepoy escort with forage but were driven off. Refusing to pay a fine, a force, this time of only 400 infantry, British and Indian, with two mountain guns and two troops of cavalry, marched out at night, and the cavalry surrounded the offending forts, awaiting the infantry arrival. Concluding that only cavalry were present, the Shinwaris opened a hot fire from the forts, and the cavalry were compelled to dismount and occupy an isolated knoll, where they were surrounded by a strong body of the enemy who were closing on them sword in hand, when volleys from the infantry who had hurried up caused them to break and fly. The cavalry

immediately mounted, and in the pursuit killed some fifty or sixty of the tribesmen.

By that time no sign of the rest of the tribe was visible, except the women and children, who, having been too late to escape, now sat quietly outside the several fort walls, looking quietly on.

The forts were substantial, and it was 5 p.m. before all work was finished and the bugler recalled the outlying picquets. Then, with loud Allahis, the tribesmen sprang up, and in a few minutes some 2,000 were bearing down on the retiring column. The two ends of the crescent, as in the former case, hurried down to seize the gorge in the rear while the main body came straight on, and were only stopped within a few yards by a heavy rifle fire in front and a bayonet charge on a flank. Over 200 dead and many wounded lay on the ground before the rush ceased. The two extensions, rushing to seize the gorge, were met by volleys from two companies who had been placed there with orders to hold on till ordered to leave. Among the dead were found twenty Mullahs and students with Korans on their breasts pierced by bullets.

They followed us as far as Pesh Bolak, then went back to collect their dead. Next day they sent in a deputation asking for peace terms.

This tribe appears to have started the rebellion in the Jelalabad Valley against Amanulla's reforms. Press correspondents attributed the source of the rebellion to be the order that women should go unveiled and similar reforms. But as the bulk of the Shinwari women,

like those of other Pathan tribes, are always unveiled, this is improbable. The conscription decree, and still more the sight of the large collection of cars, furniture, and other property of the Amir purchased in Europe lying almost unguarded, was sufficient inducement for a raid, and the success of the first attack, with the voices of the Mullahs denouncing the reforms, were quite sufficient incentives for a rebellion.

It is to be regretted that when the British boundary of responsibility was being rearranged, the lands of the Shinwaris were not included. Their proximity to Afridi and Mohmand locations may easily cause trouble at intervals, both with these tribes and with the Afghan Government when resettled.

URAKZAI, KOHAT AND BANNU.

THE elevated tract known as Tirah, in addition to the valleys of the Afridis, includes the higher sections of three considerable valleys occupied by Urakzai Pathans, a race allied to and very similar in habits and customs to the Afridis, but generally of weaker physique and inferior fighting qualities. The most important and thickly populated is watered by what is locally known as the Toi or river, and may, for convenience, be styled the Urakzai Bara, as it is a principal affluent of that river. Its sources are in the south face of the mountains hemming in the Afridi Maidan. For ten miles it runs down a very fertile valley some five miles in breadth, richly cultivated and containing many walled villages or hamlets and towers. After that the hills close in, sometimes leaving but a few yards across for two or three miles, at others leaving room for some acres of terraced cultivation round small clusters of huts. After an easterly course of about forty miles it turns north, and winding between an intricate mass of hills—some 6,000 feet in elevation—joins the Bara river before

entering the Peshawar Valley. The second, the Khanki or Kashai, rises under the east end of the Safed Koh, and after passing through some few miles in a broad cultivated valley takes a south easterly course down a long, narrow, rocky bed between steep and rugged hills, for about fifty miles into the Miranzai portion of the Kohat district.

The third is the Kharmana, a circular basin, about ten miles in diameter, surrounded by an amphitheatre of mountains rising from 8,000 to 14,000 feet in elevation from which the slopes fall rapidly down to about 4,000 feet, then widen out into gently sloping plateaux, separated from one another by deep watercourses and ravines, all the drinage from which meeting form the Kharmana darrah, which, at the south end, breaks through a narrow defile into the Kuram Valley and on into the river. The higher slopes are covered with dense pine forest, and are occupied by two small nomadic clans not allied to the Urakzai. The lower slopes are mostly covered with scrub, but there are also, at the southern end, some hundred acres of cultivation. This valley is occupied by a clan of Urakzais who have little in connection with those in the other valleys, but, like them, have long standing feuds with the occupants of the Kuram Valley.

The total fighting strength of the Urakzai is estimated to be about 25,000. It is evident that the culturable area, especially in the dry, rocky, outer hills and ravines, is not sufficient for the requirements of the tribe; and no great trade route passes through their lands from

which to add to their resources; consequently a large number of families have encroached on the lands of neighbouring tribes, both without and within the British territory, and as, owing to the long standing feuds between each of these tribes, raids were frequent across the border, which necessarily led to punitive expeditions into Urakzai country. But until 1897 none of these penetrated beyond the outer fringe.

These feuds were embittered more than usual by the religious element. The bulk of the Urakzais, like the Afridis, are of the Sunni sect of Moslems, while the Turis are Shiahs, of the Urakzais one principal clan the Mahomed Khel, and some lesser clans are Shiahs, like the Turis. The Mahomed Khel have long occupied a portion of the Toi of the Urakzai Valley and of the adjoining Kashai glen, where they held a small fort known as the Pakka (brick or stone) Killa. Their lands have long been coveted by the other clans, and, in addition to other causes of strife, the Shiahs, as throughout India and Afghanistan, have always been friendly disposed towards the British authorities, have never raided British territory, and have given much assistance to civil and military officers during punitive expeditions against marauding clans. More than once the Shiahs would have been driven out but for assistance rendered by the Turis of Kuram, who, being now under British control, can no longer afford active help. In consequence, after the invasion under Sir William Lockhart in 1897, the Sunni clans have renewed their attacks on the Shiahs and have lately succeeded in

compelling the Shiahs to take refuge in the Kohat district. According to the latest reports the Shiahs are now endeavouring to regain their ancestral lands. Why the British authorities did not prevent this friendly clan from being driven out is hard to understand. It seems but another only too frequent a course on this frontier, of leaving those who have assisted us to pay heavily for it as soon as we have vacated a hostile country or reversed our policy.

If these Shiahs succeed in regaining their lands, and the British authorities do not prevent the Urakzais from being assisted by the Afridis, and the Shiahs by Turis, there will result very serious consequences. From the Mairdan and other valleys of Tirah, where, during the hot months, the bulk of the men of both tribes are collected, with nothing to keep them employed between the sowing and reaping of their crops, raiding parties, in great strength, could sweep down the Kharmana and attack the town of Balesh Khel, or even the cantonment of Parichena, in a few hours, and by holding the defile at the Kuram end of Kharmana retire with their loot unmolested, which would mean another Tirah Campaign, necessitating the mobilisation of an army of at least 50,000 combatants, transport, supplies, and labour corps.

All political and military matters dealing with the Urakzai, as well as with several other tribes on the borders of the district, were carried on through the local authorities of the Kohat district under the control of the Punjab Government until the recent administrative

changes. In this, and in other ways, the Kohat districts differed considerably from the Peshawar district. Through the Peshawar district had constantly passed Moghal, Afghan, Sikh and British armies from Attok to the Khyber. The open country along both banks of the Kabul river had been under the regular government of each in turn. The British cantonments at Peshawar and Nowshera, and all outlying frontier forts except Mairdan, were garrisoned by British and Hindustani troops of the Indian Army, under the direct control of the Commander-in-Chief in India, and as relations with Afghanistan were largely conducted through the civil authorities in Peshawar a closer connection with the supreme Government was necessary.

The Kohat district, lying to the south of the range of hills between the Kohat Pass and Attok, is bounded on the east by the Indus river for a length of seventy miles, from a point about ten miles south of Attok to the boundary of the Bannu district. The northern and western boundary runs along the foothills, first a few miles along a section of the range occupied by Khataks, then in succession come the lands of independent Jowaki and Pass Afridis, Urakzai, Zaimukhts, Turis and Waziris, all of whom, for many years after the British arrival, took delight in raiding, plundering and sometimes murdering a few of their neighbours within and without the British boundary whenever a favourable opportunity occurred. The Kohat district is much broken up by hill ranges and numerous watercourses and ravines, and is mainly occupied by the two Pathan

tribes of Khataks and Bangash, the former to north and east, the latter to south and west, in the section known as Miranzai. Though included in the Moghal, Afghan and Sikh kingdoms in turn these tribes were always unruly subjects, practically independent of all control, compelled, however, at intervals to pay revenue by military expeditions, accompanied by very drastic measures, often not without severe fighting. On the arrival of British officers the Khataks heartily accepted the new regime and have ever been loyal and peaceful subjects. They are a fine manly race of Pathans, probably more allied to the Punjabi Mahomedan tribes, east of the Indus, than to other Pathans, possessing all the better and few of the worse qualities of other tribes. The whole tribe acknowledges the authority of one principal chief, who, in 1849, was one Khwaja Mahomed Khan, who at once threw in his lot with the British, aided the authorities in civil and military matters, and kept his tribe loyal, all through his long life, being rewarded with the title of Nawab and finally knighted. He raised a fine body of Khatak levies, and many of the finest soldiers in the ranks of the Frontier Force, especially in the 1st Punjab Infantry (Coke's rifles) were khataks. Their famous sword dance has been exhibited before many distinguished visitors. The Punjab Frontier Force, organised shortly after the annexation, comprised, in addition to the Guide Corps at Mairdan and the 5th Gurkhas at Abbottabad, six Mohamedan and four Sikh Infantry Regiments, five Cavalry Corps and six Mountain

Batteries. Several of these took part in the suppression of the Great Mutiny from Delhi to Lucknow—while others held the frontiers. No British regiments entered the Kohat district before 1878. All expeditionary columns were composed of Punjab Frontier Force regiments with the addition of most useful companies of Bengal Sappers, and in the early days the 66th (now 1/1) Gurkha Rifles and the 24th, later 32nd, Pioneers.

About forty miles south-west of Kohat, on the Bannu road, are the salt mines of Bahadar Khel, which supply the wants of the British districts, and most of the tribes along the frontier west of the Indus, with that commodity, and have done so for generations. The salt is largely obtained on and near the surface, and, being of a darker tinge to the "red" salt drawn from deep mines in the Punjab salt range, is known as black salt. As it is obtained at less cost than the red, and pays less duty, it has always been sold at a lower price. To prevent it from lessening the consumption of the red salt in the cis Indus districts a salt customs line was drawn on the east bank of the Indus to prevent its crossing, and for years many a sharp fight occurred between smugglers and salt customs' officers. The salt is dug by men of all surrounding tribes, and its conveyance on camels to frontier tribes and through the Kohat Pass has been a lucrative source of income to those tribes who have had camels for hire.

The Bangash tribe, which occupies the portion of the Kohat district known as Miranzai, appears to have

previously occupied the Kuram Valley, and were of the Shiah sect of Moslems, with a Syud family of their own.

Among them, some four centuries ago, settled a community of Turis, believed to have migrated from the Punjab, who became Hamsayas or tenants of the Bangash and adopted their creed. The Bangash, worried by incursions of Ghilzais and others, and discontented with the exactions of Afghan rulers, gradually trekked eastward and settled in Miranzai, which was then largely lying waste. Their abandoned lands were taken over by the Turis, who now occupy nearly the whole of the eastern section of the Kuram from the Peiwar Kotal or pass, became a powerful tribe, often at variance with the Afghan government and raiding on or assisting their neighbours. It was largely owing to their help that the Shiah Urakzais were long able to hold their own against the Sunnis. The Bangash, in the meantime, had, at the expense of the Khataks, occupied Miranzai.

At the annexation, the southern portion of Miranzai was somehow not included in the Kohat district, and emphasised their independence by indulging in little wars among themselves and with the Khataks, which was finally put a stop to by annexation after three military expeditions in 1853, 1855 and 1856, since which they have settled down as peaceful agriculturists. Before the last expedition the Turis from Kuram had raided across the intervening Zaimukht country into Miranzai, so Brigadier (later Sir) Neville Chamberlain, in command of the force, pushed up the Kuram river to

the Kuram Fort in the valley, and as far as the Peiwar Kotal, without much opposition.

As the Kuram was considered a part of Afghanistan, the Amir had been communicated with, but pleaded his inability to keep the troublesome tribe in order. The valley had long been considered subject to Afghanistan, but the Turis only paid taxes when, at intervals of four or five years, an Afghan force was sent into the country to enforce payment by drastic oriental methods. In 1848 an Afghan Governor was appointed, and, with a strong escort, occupied the fort in the broadest part of the valley. This kept the tribe in some subjection till the Afghan War of 1878-80, when General Roberts' column occupied it. The Turis gave every assistance to the troops in providing supplies and in escorting convoys, and at the peace of 1879 were declared independent: and told to manage their own affairs, which, however, were so mismanaged that they begged to be included in British territory, and the Turis are now loyal and useful subjects.

The Kuram Valley is divided into two sections by a long spur thrown southwards from the Sikaram peak, the highest point of the Safed Koh, and now known as the Peiwar Kotal, as the pass of that name crosses the range about midway between Sikaram and the Kuram river, which, rising round the Shutar Garden Pass, falls rapidly into the western section of the valley at Alikhul, then, taking a circuitous course across a valley some ten miles in length and breadth, bends south, round the end of the Peiwar spur into the larger section

of the valley, which has an average breadth of five or six miles, and from the base of the Peiwar to the hills of the Zaimukhts, about twenty miles in length, in the midst of which is the old fort, and close by the very pleasant British cantonment of Parichena (the fairy's well) or Parichenar (fairy's plane tree) occupied by the Turi Rifles under British officers. The valley is richly cultivated, and dotted with fruit orchards round numerous villages of small forts or clusters of mud huts; though sections of the tribe still live in Kiris or encampments of black tents, on the southern slopes of the Safed Koh. The average height of the valley is 5,000 feet above sea level, the Safed Koh rising to 15,620 at the Sikaram peak, and decreases to about 14,000 above the Tirah Valleys.

As the name implies, the Safed Koh is capped with snow for several months every year. On the southern or Kuram side most of the snow has melted by June, and the slopes afford excellent grazing grounds, till, at about 10,000 feet, pine forests, succeeded lower down by oak and wild olive, cover them. The northern slopes opposite to the Jelalabad Valley form the tract known as Ningrahar, occupied by Shinwaris and Khugianis. On the northern slopes the snow lies deeper and longer. On the 29th May, 1879, the snow still lay several feet in depth down to 12,000 feet, and a field of snow, some three miles across, lay under Sikaram on that side, whereas the steep stony descent to the Peiwar on the south side was already clear of snow. The Peiwar spur falls rapidly from the crest to about 9,000 feet almost

bare of trees, then its crest widens out and is well wooded. The pass itself is about 8,000 feet in elevation, with sufficient room among the downs for the large Afghan Camp, which occupied it in 1879 until driven from it by General Roberts by a front and flank attack. The ascent from the Kuram is steep and rugged, and should have been almost impregnable if well defended. The descent on the farther side is easier, but farther on, on the road to the Lagar Valley of Kabul, stands the Shutar Gardan Pass, 11,800 feet, crossed by General Roberts' force, unopposed, in 1879. It should have been an insuperable obstacle if defended.

The Safed Koh, at its western end, connects with the range crossed by the Shutar Gardan (camel's neck), which, continuing southward a few miles, turns east and runs between the upper and lower Kuram Valleys on one side, and the broad Zarmat Valley of the Ghilzais, and the Khost Valley of the Mangals, on the other. The upper Kuram is occupied by the Jajis, a small but turbulent tribe long at feud with the Turis but now no longer aggressive. The great Ghilzai tribe is perhaps the most powerful of all the Afghan tribes, and as all the passes along east and south routes are in their lands the fate of the Kabul monarchy is probably in their hands. They will probably join the highest bidder, or form an independent republic of their own.

The Mangals of the Khost Valley, an elevated circular basin about ten miles in diameter, well watered, cultivated and peopled, has several times revolted against the Amirs and been suppressed after much

fighting. During the 2nd Afghan War they gave some trouble to General Roberts' force in Kuram, and a strong force entered and occupied the valley, after which they gave no further trouble. They are not likely to attempt raids on Kuram, but have lately given aid to certain Waziri tribes and asylum to refugees who have compromised themselves with the British authorities. They will probably act with the Ghilzais in the present quarrels. East and south of the Khost Valley comes the northern section of the Waziri tribes.

Between the western portion of the Kohat district, the Urakzai country on the north, Kuram on the west and the Waziris on the south is a triangular block of mountains and hills occupied by the Zaimukht tribe of Pathans; about 400 square miles in area. The total fighting strength is probably about 4,000, and the tribe would be of little importance but for its position between Kohat and Kuram. Like other tribes it is divided into several clans who, but that they are surrounded by more powerful tribes, would be at feud with one another. There are some fairly open valleys among the hills, and several large villages. For years before, and for some time after the British arrived, they frequently raided into Miranzai on their own account, but more often in company with Turis and Waziris; trusting to some of their secluded glens to escape reprisals.

A Kafilah route runs through the country from east to west, but was not much used as water was more scarce than along the banks of the Kuram river. It

would not be difficult to run a railway through. The tribe came into prominent notice during the Afghan War, 1878-80, when, in spite of subsidies and agreements, parties of them attacked and plundered, sometimes murdered military detachments escorting convoys to and from General Roberts' column in the Kuram Valley. A strong force sent against them in 1879, under General Tytler, traversed, occupied and surveyed the whole area without serious opposition, except for a few hours in a defile leading to what they considered an inaccessible glen under the high range to the north. Since then they have given little trouble, and many of their young men are making money on road making or as camel drivers. They no longer dread raids by Waziris or Turis, being under British protection.

WAZIRIS.

THE Waziris are one of the most powerful and politically important of the Pathan tribes on the North West Frontier of India. Their lands cover an area of about 6,000 square miles, and extend from the Kuram Valley on the north to the Gomal river on the south. From the Afghan district of Khost and the upland valleys of the Ghilzais, east of Ghazni on the west, to the British districts of Kohat and Bannu on the east, and include some 500 square miles east of the lower section of the Kuram river, jutting out into British territory. If the tribes could combine they could place in the field about 40,000 men able and accustomed to carry arms. They have long been considered the best fighting race, second only, if second, to the Afridis, on the border ; and until the last thirty years prided themselves as being the only Pathan tribe that had maintained its independence of all foreign rulers, including Afghan, throughout the centuries since it first occupied its present home. Also as being the most successful raiders and expert thieves on the frontier. They are a brave, hardy and mostly healthy race. They have hitherto been at war with

and annexed portions of country of all their neighbours, except across the British boundary, where, however, large numbers have settled as agriculturists and others graze their camels, flocks and herds during the winter months.

They have two customs differing from most other Pathans which strengthen the tribe, by lessening blood feuds and keeping their young men from wandering abroad. A murder can be avenged only on the person of the murderer, not on any other relative; and if a family is impoverished by misfortune, it is assisted by the clan to recover its former position. On the other hand, the power of the whole tribe is weakened by a long-standing feud and enmity between the two most important sections, the Darwesh Khel and the Mahsuds. The former is now generally spoken of as Waziris, the latter as Mahsuds, without the tribal affix. They both are bitterly hated by all their neighbours, and receive short shift if captured; and on their part have no hesitation in murdering at sight members of other tribes: yet, withal, they are considered very hospitable, and true to tribal engagements. Though not acknowledging the supreme authority of any chief, their Jirgahs usually elect a leader during wars and raids whom they obey. Though not particularly zealous in the Islamic religious rites, they are largely influenced by their Mullahs, and by the Syuds of whom there are some families settled amongst them, and by these are easily roused to action against foreigners and infidels if a *Jihad* is preached.

The Mahsuds roughly occupy a central region to the

west of which runs a great range of mountains rising to 11,000 feet in elevation, running north and south, while the Darwesh Khel occupy sections to the north along the Kuram and Kaitu rivers, to the south in the glens falling into the Gomal Valley, and in the block of hills east of the Kuram river touching on the Kohat district. Between the Mahsuds and the Bannu district is a tract occupied by the weaker Pathan tribe of Batanis; and between the Mahsuds and Northern Waziris is the valley of the Tochi river, occupied by an inferior race known as Dawaris, with a number of Hindu families long settled amongst them.

The whole country is an intricate mass of spurs and subsidiary ranges thrown out from the eastern face of the great range. Between these fall numerous water-courses flanked by ravines which, combining, form the rivers and streams that at intervals burst through long narrow defiles or stupendous rock-bound gorges in the hills, on their way to the open country, usually breaking through at right angles to the general run of the ridges, which is north and south. Until in recent years roads fit for traffic have been constructed by the British authorities, the only pathways practicable for laden animals ran up the beds of these rivers and streams between the recurring rocky narrow defiles, turning aside at such places, up lateral ravines or over steep spurs and ridges and descending, in a similar way, down to the river bed again. At all such defiles the transport animals of a field force have to close in from a broad front to single file, the resulting blocks affording

opponents excellent opportunities for sniping and plundering, especially when night is closing in. These are usually far greater obstacles to progress than the open attack of an enemy; and worse still, when a force is leaving an unsubdued tribe, punished but not beaten; hanging on its flanks and rear. The aspect of the outer spurs is bare and rocky with precipitous sides and pinnacled peaks, but after passing through the forbidding outer hills and defiles the hill slopes are less steep, and well wooded with wild olive and stunted oak, and in the higher regions with edible and other pines. Near the large towns of Kanigoram and Makin at the base of the great range, and the plateau of Raznak where the new cantonment is situated, the hills have a more rounded form not unlike downs, covered with grass and trees and many familiar flowers, violets, poppies, tulips, and on the higher slopes, the beautiful alpine gentian. In these and similar localities are numerous small clusters of mud huts walled in and guarded by towers and considerable areas of terraced fields irrigated by channels carried along the slopes sometimes for considerable distances from mountain springs. Otherwise there is little culturable land, and that mainly in *Kachies*, alluvial flats where the hills confining streambeds widen out between the successive defiles, sometimes for several hundred yards. Here are also the hamlets with towers, or tent encampments, of the cultivators.

The total cultivated area is insufficient to provide food for the people; even with the addition of the produce of their flocks and herds, and the camels hired

out for transport. Those nearest British territory carry on a trade in wool, *ghi*, honey, firewood and palm leaf matting in exchange for salt, sugar, tea and other such commodities. To these resources was formerly added iron, dug and smelted and manufactured into match-locks, swords, knives, etc., near Makin, but modern weapons and iron ware from India have superceded local manufacture. It is not astonishing that an enterprising race like the Waziris should have long considered it quite legitimate to raid richer lands all round them, and especially watch, with hungry eyes, the yearly passage, up and down the Gomal and Tochi Valleys, of thousands of camel loads of merchandise guarded by that peculiar race of warrior-traders known as Powindahs, mostly members of certain clans of the Ghilzai tribe occupying the large upland valley east and south east of Ghazni.

The sources of the Gomal river are on the eastern watershed running southward from Ghazni from 70 to 120 miles from that town. Crossing the Zermalan plain, occupied by the Suliman Khel of Ghilzais, they meet about fifty miles east of the watershed at the end of the plain, and as the Gomal river, after passing some miles through a barren region of broken hills, enter the first great defile, which runs for about twenty-five miles through the Waziri country between rocky precipitous hills whose bases sometimes reduce the bed to a few yards in width.

Here it is joined by the Zhob river at Kajuri Kach, both rivers here being of considerable width. The

combined waters, after a short run, enter another defile, in places more formidable than in the upper gorge. The Powindah Kafilahs or caravans collect in the open valleys above Domandi about October, with their famlies, and thousands of camels loaded with goods from Turkestan and Persia—woollen and camel-hair bales of cloth, woollen rugs and carpets, drugs and fruit, etc., and after carefully arranging for the guarding of the Kafilahs, crowning the heights, and scouting, they commence the long march. The track follows the bed of the river whenever it is practicable for laden camels, but when this is not practicable the route turns up lateral watercourses, crossing the spurs that lie in the way, and descend again to the river bed beyond the obstacle. No less than 50,000 Powindah men, women and children—a sturdy, healthy race—with thousands of camels are said to descend to the British districts of Bannu and Dera Ismael Khan every year. On arrival they make over their arms to the police, leave their families with a proportion of the men in blanket tents near the boundary and proceed with their goods to India. They now use the railway, but formerly individuals with their camels often traversed the streets of Calcutta and Bombay.

In the months of March and April they return to their encampments with their purchases, and Manchester and Birmingham goods, salt, sugar, tea, etc., and start on the return journey in their usual military formation. On reaching Afghanistan they leave their families there as before, while the Kafilahs go westward to Herat,

Kabul, Balkh or Bokhara, returning in time to begin again the journey to India.

How great a temptation these Kafilahs have been to the lawless thievish Waziris and Mahsuds may be conjectured. They hung on the flanks of the caravans, sometimes making night attacks, at others fighting fiercely at the detours, or rushing in when a block occurred. But they often fared badly and a captured or wounded Waziris was instantly shot or hacked to pieces. More than one western invader has marched by this great route, perhaps even more used and more important than either the Bolan or the Khyber and yet until 1889 no attempt was made to have it explored by British officers even during the first and second Afghan Wars, nor when garrisons occupied Quettah in the south and Lundi Kotal and Kuram in the north. Under the Durand agreement with the Amir the Gomal defile from the edge of the Zarmelan Domandi plain was placed within the British zone of influence and Kafilahs now traverse the route with little molestation.

During the years 1849—52 bands of Waziris varying in strength from 4 or 500 to 3,000 crossed the frontiers of Kohat and Bannu, plundering, burning and murdering in the villages and at times assaulting even military outposts. Some of these raids were driven back and followed up a few miles by punitive expeditions of from one to two thousand men of the Frontier regiments and Khatak and Bangash levies, with little permanent effect. In 1852 a column under Major (afterwards General) John Nicholson of greater strength marched

farther into the hills and destroyed several villages and towers and levied fines, but the casualities among the troops and levies were not much less than among the elusive Waziris, and the effects were temporary. Both Wazirs and Mahsuds continued their raids almost with impunity till 1859 when they even ventured to attack Tank, and Bahadar Khel, and threaten Bannu. At length the Punjab Government lost its patience and an expedition under Sir Neville Chamberlain about 5,000 strong drawn from the Frontier, regiments with detachments from the Indian Army and thirteen Mountain guns, marched through a large section of the Darwesh Khel sections and in 1860 a similar force invaded that of the Mahsuds. Both expeditions met serious, but temporary, opposition at the more difficult passes and in the defiles, the tribesmen often showing conspicous daring by attacking the troops sword in hand.

During the advance into the Mahsud country an attack that barely escaped being a disaster occurred. General Chamberlain had decided that it was necessary to push on to Kaniguram, the principal, and almost sacred city in the tribal country, and dividing his force, left about half his force under Colonel Lumsden to guard, his line of communications during his advance to the Capital. This force was encamped on the bank of a large watercourse, with high banks on a small flat between the river and the foot of surrounding hills. General Chamberlain was informed that he would be strongly opposed by the whole strength of the tribe not far from Kaniguram, but on nearing the position

found it practically unoccupied—and next morning received information that the other section had been fiercely attacked. The Mahsuds, some 3 to 4,000 strong, leaving their position near Kaniguram, had avoided the advancing column and sweeping round took up a position above the second column.

The main camp faced the hills, while the transport lines and the camp of the Levies were in the rear above the stream bed. Outlying picquets, of more than ordinary strength, were stationed on a ridge overlooking the camp. All was quiet till near dawn, when a party of some 500 Mahsuds rushed the picquets, sword in hand, and swept over them, while another body from the stream bed rushed the transport lines and the camp of the levies, and the main body made for the guns at the front. By the merest accident the 5th Gurkhas and 4th Sikhs were ready under arms, and on the first alarm pushed forward and met the advancing enemy on one side, while the guns and other regiments opened on the main body as dawn broke. In an hour all was over, the enemy, who had only used their swords, left 150 dead on the ground and carried away a larger number of wounded, but the casualities among the troops were some 60 killed and 150 wounded, besides several of the levies, camel drivers, etc., killed and wounded and a large number of horses, camels and mules. But for the disciplined courage of the troops the result might have been disastrous to both columns. Operations were now continued, Kaniguram, after a severe action, surrendered and was spared, as its occupants were not

fighting men. But another considerable town, Makin, and several villages were destroyed after the General and political officer had repeatedly sent word to the Mahsud leaders, that if they would come in and submit to terms villages and crops would be uninjured.

It has been customary in most of these frontier expeditions to fix a certain period for its duration, and to send a proclamation to the offending tribe, containing the terms to which they must submit or take the consequences. Arrangements for the transport of supplies were limited to that period. Sometimes the duration has been limited to a few days, and the men carry provisions for that period. At others to one or two weeks. In consequence, if any unexpected opposition is met with, or delays caused by rain or other causes, the troops have had to push on to the objective as fast as possible, and then, for want of supplies, hurry back without the terms being agreed to, and in these cases, followed up by the enemy with attacks from flanks and rear till the tribal boundary is reached ; and the tribe, in spite of losses and privations, glorying in the defeat of the English Army, followed, very often, by a renewal of offences.

During the 1860 expeditions the punishment, both of Waziris and Mahsuds, was unusually severe, and tended to keep them more quiet for a few years, only to begin again as a younger generation grew to manhood.

Such has been the experience with the Waziris and Mahsuds. Not a year passed without raids across the border, accompanied with burnings of villages, capturing

herds of camels and cattle and flocks of sheep, with more or less shooting and slashing of opponents and travellers, and attacks on military posts and convoys, culminating, in 1879, in the capture, for a few days, of the town and fort of Tank. The march of troops and convoys along the Kohat Kuram and Bannu road during the Afghan War of 1878-80 gave an ample field for plunder to all surrounding clans, of which they took full advantage.

After peace had returned in 1880 a strong force marched through large portions of Waziristan, but had to return before complete submission had been obtained for want of supplies. In 1885 Amir Abdul Rahman endeavoured to persuade the tribe to become his subjects, offering considerable advantages and privileges, but failed to convince them. Thus, forty years after the British occupation of the Punjab, the relations between the British authorities and the Waziris remained practically unchanged and unsatisfactory. The last years of the 19th century saw a complete change all along the Punjab Frontier.

THE PATHAN TRIBES AFTER 1893.

For forty years after the annexation of the Punjab, no material change had been made either in the frontier boundary or in the administration of the frontier districts, and their relations with the adjoining independent tribes, as far south as the Dera Ismael district and the Gomal river. To the south of that the inclusion of Baluchistan in the empire, due to the peaceful and skilful diplomacy of Sir Robert Sandeman with the consent of the Khan and his feudatories, the submission of the Pathan and Baluch tribes adjoining: the stationing of a large military cantonment at Quettah, connected by the railways along the Bolan and Harnai Valleys, had placed the Bolan route under British management, and made it easier for a British force to advance on Kandahar if necessary. By the treaty of Gandamak, in 1879, the Khyber Pass was placed under British control, and the Kuram Valley declared independent of Afghan rule, and told to manage its own affairs. Lundi Kotal, Ali Musjid, and some smaller parts, were garrisoned by Afridi Levies, under British officers, and paid by the British Government, but

unfortunately through their own Maliks or Chieftains, and these were also paid a lump sum equivalent to the yearly income previously obtained by pass dues.

Under experienced British officers, more especially Colonel R. Warbarton, for thirteen years no serious trouble arose. In the Kuram the rival sections and clans could not keep the valley in order, and finally, at the request of the tribal leaders, the administration of the valley was taken over, corps of Turi Levies enrolled under British officers, and the tribe settled down as peaceful and industrious subjects of the British Raj. But elsewhere, and especially on the Mohmand frontier to the north and Waziristan to the south, raids and other outrages continued. After the settlement of the Russo-Afghan boundary the British Government considered the time had come for a more satisfactory settlement of the responsibility and control of the frontier tribes between the Afghan and Indian Governments in some way that would lessen the friction caused at intervals by tribes who had compelled the British to take military action, claiming to be Afghan subjects, or when followed into the hills seeking and obtaining refuge among tribes farther west, undoubtedly subjects of Afghanistan, where, also, many criminal outlaws fled from justice. The Viceroy, Lord Lansdowne, having addressed Amir Abdul Rahman on the subject, and the Amir having invited a friendly discussion, a mission under Mr. (afterwards Sir) Mortimer Durand was sent to Kabul, and, after a time, obtained, very reluctantly, the signature of the Amir to an agree-

ment which placed Waziristan, the Mohmand country beyond the Kumar, Chitral and Yusufzai tribes within the control and responsibility of the Indian Government. The Amir, at the same time, warned the Viceroy that the subjection and management of the tribes would be no easy job, and it would be far better to make them over to the Amir, as they were of the same race and religion. He would probably have refused his consent but that in return he was getting an additional £50,000 to his yearly subsidy, sadly needed for his new army, and the right to import war material from abroad through India. In 1894, Lord Elgin being Viceroy, it was decided to start the demarcation of the new boundaries, and two boundary commissions, with strong escorts, were detailed for the purpose, one starting on the Gomal, the other on the Kabul and Kunar rivers. The former, with an escort of 3,000 infantry and some guns, starting from Dera Ismael Khan, entered the Waziri country and formed an entrenched camp at Wana, about ten miles north of the Gomal river and the same distance east of the new boundary line. The Waziris, always proud of their independence, did not need much persuasion on the part of the Mullahs and others,to convince them that if they permitted boundary marks to be placed, their independence was gone, they would have to pay heavy land and other taxes, and the cursed police would interfere in their private affairs.

On the 4th November an attack similar to that on Colonel Lumsden's camp, in 1860, by the same tribe was made just before dawn, sword in hand. On this

occasion several hundreds penetrated into the camp, and before they were finally driven out with the bayonet had killed and wounded 120 men, including two British officers, over 100 camels and carried off a number of rifles and a treasure chest.

Immediately on receipt of the report, General Sir William Lockhart was directed to invade *and occupy* Waziristan, till the whole tribe had submitted and carried out the conditions of the punitive terms imposed, and the survey and demarcation completed.

Three strong columns entered Waziristan at different points, and in spite of some sharp fighting at the difficult passes and defiles, in which the Waziris and Mahsuds often made daring sword charges on the infantry, the whole country, with the aid of the sappers and pioneers in road making, was entered and explored, and wherever terms were not accepted, numerous towers and fort walls were blown to pieces, and the crops used as fodder for transport animals. Supplies sufficient for the troops were nowhere obtainable, and convoys of from one to two thousand camels, mostly hired from and driven by Powindahs, had to return to the plains to bring up fresh supplies, escorted by infantry. It was the depth of winter, falls of snow and rain were frequent, and bitterly cold winds from the 11,000 feet heights swept across the country. Spring brought heavy rain; summer, in the less elevated valleys, intense heat; but the work was thoroughly done. The experienced General knew the frontier and the Pathan well, when to be severe and firm, when to sympathise and relax,

The submission, for the time, was complete, demarcation and survey carried out, and the forces were withdrawn, leaving military posts at Wana and in the Tochi, where the cowardly and treacherous Dawaris had not the manly qualities of the Mahsuds and were guilty of "unprovoked murders by individual fanatics."

The Norther Boundary Commission was long a complete failure. To the Amir Waziristan was of little concern, and he might benefit by the increase of trade following security. But the Amir viewed from quite a different standpoint the exclusion, from his "God-given Kingdom," of the greater portion of the Mohmand tribe, who had, through their Khans, always nominally, sometimes really, acknowledged Afghan Suzerainty, of the Chitral state in the upper regions of the Kashkar or Kunar river, over which he hoped to secure control after the contemplated conquest of Kafiristan, which extended as far as the Chitral boundary; and from that base, with the help of the Mullahs, to extend his sway over the Yusufzai tribes. To this possibility the Indian Government was naturally strongly opposed. To permit the Russians from the Pamirs, within easy reach of the Kunar Valley, or the Afghans from Kafiristan and Jelalabad, to seize Chitral and overawe the Yusufzai tribes would be detrimental, both to the peace and security of the whole frontier. In 1890, to prevent Russian aggression on that side, the states of Hanza and Nagar were captured, and the whole country between the Hindu Kush and the British and Kashmir boundaries was declared to be under British protection; and so

was the Chitral state at the request of the reigning Mehter. The whole area had been in a disturbed state ever since the arrival on the scene of the Boundary Commission to demacrate the Durand line. The Afghan General steadily refused to give up claim to any part of the Mohmand country, and the Amir repudiated the Durand treaty on that point. While negotiations were in progress at the southern end of the Kunar Valley, momentous events were disturbing Chitral. For some years a bandit chief named Umra Khan had been keeping Dir and Bajaor in wars and excursions, and now, suddenly, in the ostensible cause of another claimant to the Chitral *gaddi*, with the connivance and assistance with soldiers and arms of the Afghan General, advanced on Chitral to which Dr. Robertson had hurried up from Gilglist, defeated him in the field, and laid siege to the Citadel, which was in hard straits when Colonel Kelly arrived with 650 sepoys from Gilghit and relieved the garrison. This was followed up by the advance of a large army under Sir Robert Low, who captured the Malakand Pass—hitherto deemed impregnable—in a few hours and advanced through Lower Swat, Bajaor and Dir. Having quietened the country, and had a road constructed to Chitral, the army returned to India, leaving a garrison in Chitral, with supports on the Malakand and Chakdarrah. As all now remained quiet for a time, here and in the southern region, military posts were also posted on the Samana ridge in the Urakzai country, thus completing a continuous series from the Indus to the Bolan.

Early in 1897 the result of Abdul Rahman's religious zeal in publicly proclaiming the merits of a holy war for Islam, and the honours publicly bestowed on all the Mullahs most notable for their zeal, and their hatred of British domination, became apparent. The holy men distributed themselves through all probable centres of active disturbance and set the whole frontier in a blaze. It commenced by a treacherous attack, without provocation, on a peaceful mission at Maizar, in the notoriously fanatical Dawar Valley on the Tochi river, when, at the first onset, 72 men were killed. A punitive force, under General Bird, soon restored order, but meantime furious attacks were made in Swat, on the Malakand and Chakdarra outposts, by contingents from all the Yusufzai tribes; and Mohmands again crossed the boundary near Shabkadr. An army under Sir Bindon Blood relieved the outposts, and after some severe fighting, in extending his operations from the Kunar Valley across Bajaor Swat and Boner to the neighbourhood of the Indus, brought peace which has not since been disturbed on that frontier. The Mohmands were easily driven back into their hills, but the storm had now reached the Khyber, where, as related already, Lundi Kotal and Ali Musjids in the Khyber and Fort Lockhart and Saraghari, on the Samana range of the Urakzais, were captured, and the Afridi Levies holding the first two, and the Sikhs in Saraghari, died fighting to the last man within the distance of a long march from large military stations without, in Peshawar, at least, any attempt being made

to help them. A force of 60,000 men was collected, and under Sir William Lockhart stormed the passes leading through the Urakzai into the Afridi Valleys in the Tirah. As usual the advance, after the first few days fighting, was practically unopposed, but some successful attacks were made by the enemy on reconnoitring parties and convoys who were unable to reach their respective camps before nightfall. And as has also been often experienced the final march out of the country was the most harrassed. Even this might possibly have been avoided if, instead of the whole column marching down the long Bara Valley, which runs between two high forest covered ranges whose bases now widen out to about half a mile in width, allowing the transport to march on a broad front, and then close in to a few yards in width, causing crowding and halts, making easy shooting for enemy snipers, a portion of the force had pushed from Rajgal into the Bazaar Valley, and from there ascending and occupying the range overlooking the Bara before the rest of the force entered the defile. But the Afridi *purdah* had been effectually raised. Every valley of any importance traversed and mapped. Certain forts and towers blown up, arms surrendered and fines paid. The Afridis had been humiliated but not embittered. For several influential Maliks, and their followers in large numbers, took the trouble to march to Peshawar to bid the departing General Sir William Lockhart Godspeed—for though their country had been over-run, their boasted invincibility shattered, their women, their temples, and their sacred shrines

had not been molested, their religious customs and their independence in all tribal private affairs guaranteed for the future. That the Afridi can still be an unmitigated savage was shown by the murder of Mrs. Ellis and the kidnapping of her daughter in the cantonment of Kohat, and yet perhaps all the lessons learnt by contact with a more refined race have not been in vain, as the heroic Mrs. Starr was able to go, almost unattended, into the very heart of this den of tigers and rescue the captive uninjured.

It may be of interest to mention that the wily Khwas Khan, who claimed to be King of the Khyber, and was entrusted with the distribution of pass money, in 1879 was a principal instigator of the attack on Lundi Kotal in 1897, had to fly from his home on the British advance, and died a discredited exile in Kabul.

With the close of the Tirah campaign the frontier troubles ended for a time all along the line. Corps of tribal levies were again enrolled under British officers, and the several trade routes were efficiently guarded. In 1899 Lord Curzon made the administrative and strategical charges mentioned previously.

On the death of Amir Abdul Rahman he was succeeded by his son Habibulla, without opposition. This prince succeeded, during the Great War, in keeping his people from causing trouble along the frontiers, except in Waziristan, when the preachings of the Mullahs, under the impression that the British were too weakened to send a sufficient force into the country, succeeded in

causing a revolt, and the Waziri Levies mutinied and joined the malcontents. The British force first sent against them was, as was inevitable, composed largely of regiments lately recruited, of which neither officers nor men knew much of hill fighting nor of their enemy. On the other hand, the men of the mutinied levies had been well drilled and were well armed. They did credit to their training, marching in ordered ranks, putting out scouts and skirmishers, and making flank attacks in true military style, and gained many advantages over and caused many casualties over the untrained regiments, till those were reinforced by Gurkha, and other regiments returned from the several battlefields, when the revolt was suppressed.

The cantonment of Razmak, not far from the big towns of Kaniguram and Makin, and connected with Bannu by good motor roads, has kept Mahsud and Waziri quiet even during recent disturbances in Afghanistan. But they will never really settle down so long as the temporary nature of the barracks in that cantonment tells them that even now it is not certain whether the British intend to remain, or, as on previous occasions, here and elsewhere, a change in the Government may result in the abandonment of the country and of all who have been friendly in their dealings with them. If the Government of India honestly desires peace and progress it must say publicly that the occupied tracts will be permanently held, and though it has no desire to interfere with tribal customs and internal affairs, all breaches of the peace, and criminal offences

in British territory, will be sternly suppressed and punished.

Meanwhile Mahsuds driving motor cars at express speed over rocks and round sharp curves are common sights in Razmak.

Afridi greybeards in the Khyber are discussing the municipal elections in Peshawar. On the borders of Swat many families are busy in their fields along the Swat canal. So far none of the tribes have, as a body, sent contingents to help in the looting and fighting in Afghanistan, which speaks well for the control exercised by the chief commissioner and his assistants. This control may continue efficient so long as these officials are men of courage and experience. All orientals worship a strong man, but one thing is certain : these frontier tribes will not be dictated to by an assembly of Indian " Intelligentia," drawn exclusively from non-military races, in Simla or Delhi ; they want a man, and preferably an Englishman, to rule over them ; if also a soldier by profession so much the better.

There was no trouble to speak of in the Khyber or farther north during the Great War. The peace was again disturbed when, after the murder of Amir Habibulla in 1920, his son, the ex-King Amanulla, seized the throne, and probably to give doubtful and restless spirits something else to think about, without the slightest provocation declared war against the British and sent troops to invade British territory. The Afridis remained loyal to their engagements ; the Mohmands, as usual, made an attempt to attack

Shabkadr. The defeat of the Afghans round Dakka, and the sight of an aeroplane over his palace in Kabul, cooled Amanulla's ardour, but though defeated in the field he quite correctly claimed a victory, as, on the ensuing settlement, he gained his country's complete independence of British control and all else that his father and grandfather had solicited in vain. It was not surprising that he built a palace and erected a pillar and distributed medals to his defeated troops to commemorate his "Victory over the greatest empire in the world," and assumed the title of King in place of that held by his greater predecessors of Amir or chief noble of Afghanistan.

THE BALUCHI BORDER.

FOR about 300 miles from the Gomal to the Bolan and southward to the Sind district, the frontier tribes Pathan and Baluchi are included in the Baluchistan Agency and administered from Quettah, long noted as a land of unrest needing such men as Sir Robert Sandeman and Sir James Browne to bring order out of chaos.

The old boundary line passed through or along the foothills on the outskirts of the mountain ranges and valleys lying between the Bolan Pass, Kandahar, Ghazni and the Gomal river. The present boundary turning south westward from the Gomal follows the southern limits of the Ghilzai and Durani tribes to the northern base of the Khwaja Amran range at New Chaman, the present terminus of the possible Quettah Kandahar railway.

Included in this area are the lands of the Kakar, Luni and some lesser Pathan tribes, and of several Baluchi tribes. The area occupied by the most important tribe, the Kakar Pathans, covers about 10,000 square miles, including the valleys of the Kundar, the Zhob, and the Loralai rivers. The first two flowing north eastward to

join the Gomal, the third southward, and then, as the Bori, westward to the Harnai, all having their sources on the eastern face of the watershed some 7 to 8,000 feet in elevation forming the eastern limit of the Kandahar province of Afghanistan. All these valleys, especially the Zhob and Loralai have an elevation for many miles of between 4 to 5,000 feet, have broad level areas of richly cultivated lands and containing numerous walled villages and forts of the local chieftains. The Zhob, after the first twenty miles from its source, runs for over 100 miles through a gently sloping valley from ten to twelve miles in average breadth, then at Apozai or Fort Sandeman runs down a narrow winding defile. The several valleys are divided from one another by barren rocky ridges rising from 1,500 to 2,000 feet above the plain, through which at intervals the drainage has forced its way at right angles to the ridge through defiles, which, until recently, formed the only highways from valley to valley. The ascent of these ridges is rendered difficult on nearing the crest owing to the ground being buried under several feet of rocks disintegrated by frost and snow, which on close examination, are found to be tiny fossilized shells of which still unbroken rocks are composed.

Until the raising of their *purdah* (curtain) by a military expedition in 1885, the Kakars were considered to be a very powerful, warlike race supposed capable of putting a force of about 40,000 fighting men into the field, and were dreaded by all their neighbours. To the British Authorities it was well known that they

had joined in the attacks on Sibi and other stations on the Harnai railway to Quettah, and often harassed the neighbourhood of the small military cantonment stationed at Thal Chutiali in the Bori valley to protect the railway line, But it was not considered desirable to stir them up by a punitive expedition while the border was still unsettled by the withdrawal of British troops from Afghanistan in 1880. Apparently encouraged by their immunity from reprisals they demanded the withdrawal of troops from the Bori Valley, and started to enforce their demands by raiding on a larger scale. In 1884-5 Thal Chutiala was garrisoned by a regiment of Bombay infantry and some troops of cavalry. The latter had a small picquet outside their lines. As a fort and some public buildings were in course of erection a large body of coolies (labourers) mostly Pathans, with their wives and children, occupied a camp outside the military cantonment. One dark night the cavalry picquet was attacked and most of the troopers killed. On another dark night shortly after, a large body of Kakars rushed the coolie camp and slashed with their swords all they met, till the screams of women and children apprised them of the fact that they had fallen on the wrong camp. They had intended to rush the infantry camp, and had mistaken the lights in the coolie camp for those in the infantry lines. These outrages were too much even for Lord Ripon's Government and orders were issued for the mobilization of a strong British and Indian force, under Sir Oriel Tauner which, with Sir Robert

Sandeman as chief Political Officer, was to invade the Zhob valley. There was a sad domestic incident connected with these attacks. Captain B. of the regiment had returned to India from furlough a few months before with his young wife, joined at Jaeobabed, a regular cantonment in Sind, and had shortly after been sent with a detachment to Sibi on the railway line. Then the whole regiment arrived on its way to Thal Chutiali, and naturally he and his wife went with them. The attack on the Cavalry picquet occurred a few months later, the first sign that the Kakars were up. On the alarm Captain B. who was ill with fever, was hurried to the central point of rendezvous appointed in case of any alarm. This heightened his fever, and the similar move on the second alarm killed him, and his wife became insane, and had to be sent down guarded by a strong escort, in the daytime as the road was no longer safe at night. The thermometer in the shade at Sibi on the day she went down was 124 Fahrenheit in the shade—in September. When all was ready for the advance of the force, orders were issued. The route into the Bori Valley after crossing the plain, entered a narrow defile about a mile in length, between steep hills, an easily defensive position, and all was arranged for a sharp encounter. Before the main column entered the defile, it was necessary to occupy the heights on either side. This was done at early dawn and yet no enemy appeared, not a shot was fired. With a succession of small advanced guards the defile was cautiously entered, any side ravine may

hold a hidden foe ready to dash out sword in hand. But the head of the column emerged without seeing an enemy, then, about 500 yards from the end stood a large party all dressed in clean white garments, and a few men waving a white cloth,came forward driving half -a-dozen fat sheep before them, and on meeting Captain G., assistant Political Officer, made a profound Salaam and asked for orders! It was the *Jirgah* of the Bori Valley Kakars. We halted near Loralai, where is now a British cantonment, and several chiefs waited on Sir Robert. What was he to do with such enemies? Their force moved on into the Zhob and blew up some imposing looking forts and survey parties mapped the valley, but only once did a small party of some thirty men attempt opposition. They charged a half company of the 4th P.I. down a hill slope and died there. They were the only actual casualities in fighting. There were some amusing incidents. Reports had been made that the men who had attacked the camp at Thal had taken refuge in a secluded glen, Khaisora, so it was decided to look it up and a survey officer with about 20 troopers under a British Officer were sent to reconnoitre the route. After riding across the Zhob valley we entered a narrow defile and emerged on a small flat bounded by a stream bed. As we reached this there arose a yell from across the stream, and over the rocks appeared several heads and flashing swords. Of course a reconnoitring party is not supposed to fight unless compelled. We shouted across and finally had an interview with three or four of them. Some days

later, when out with an escort of Afridis of the 4th P.I., we surprised a Kakar sound asleep near some water, whom, after he had got over his alarm, we engaged as a guide, and found him quite a character. He had been as far as Calcutta with a Kafilah load. On being asked if he had been with the party in the gorge who had threatened us, he laughed and said, "yes, we were driving donkey loads of grain up to Khaisora if you had come on we were ready to bolt, we had not a single gun with us." After a promenade as far as Apozai the force returned to Thal.

There was a peculiar effect of mirage observable for several mornings looking east down the valley, that I have not seen mentioned in any account of the Valley. Just after dawn the east end of the valley appeared as if closed in by stupendous rocky cliffs. Gradually an opening in the cliff base appeared and widened upward till only a gigantic arch remained, then the arch opened, and whole cliff faded away into the hills on either side.

The Valleys of the Kakar tribe were, after this, practically under British control, but it needed another punitive expedition in 1890 against the Khidarzai section of the tribe before the tract became fairly amenable to control. Milatary posts were established at Loralai and Fort Sandeman at Apozai. Good roads now traverse the Zhob, but it is time that Quettah was connected by a shorter line of railway with Dera Ismael Khan on the Indus, and thus with the cantonments in the Punjab. The construction of a line up the Zhob

Valley could be carried out with few physical difficulties once the defile from the mouth of the Gomal to Apozai was mastered.

To south and east of the Pathan locations are those of several Baluch tribes, Kasranis, Bozdars, Mazaris, Marris, Bugtis and others. For forty years after the annexation of the Punjab, and before that on the Sindh frontier, and the Afghan War of 1839-42, most of these tribes were in the habit of making more or less frequent raids, often in large numbers, to the banks of the Indus, returning after with much plunder in camels, cattle and sheep, and little or no loss, to what they considered impregnable fastnesses in the hills. Picturesque were these Baluch raiders in their white flowing garments, their long, curled, glossy black hair waving in the breeze, mounted on small, but swift and sturdy mares, their swords flashing in the sun. Horses and firearms were seldom taken, lest the neighing of the former, or the accidental discharge of the latter, might give the alarm by night. What manner of men they were might be judged by the account of a raid that occurred many years ago. Only too fatal to the raiders on this occasion. Information was received that a body of some 700 to 800 Bugtis were raiding across country. Major (afterwards General) Jacob, Commissioner of Sindi, sent Lieutenant (later Sir W.) Mereweather, with 120 of the Sind Mounted Rifles, to intercept them. The cavalry came up to the raiders about ten miles from the hills to which they were making. The cavalry were armed with carbines, to which the Bugtis could make no reply.

The officers had given instructions that, if the Bugtis charged, the cavalry were to retire in order to draw the raiders out from the hills. The feint succeeded two or three times, then the raiders saw the joke and then rode steadily on. Mereweather rode up near enough to the Chief to call to him to surrender. Receiving no reply he reluctantly ordered his men to open fire. Again and again, as their casualties increased, they were called on to surrender but refused until their leaders were killed, a portion of the cavalry had headed them, and only 120, many of them wounded, were left, they suddenly surrendered.

But more often than not, raiding parties returned to their homes with their loot, almost unscathed. Several frontier expeditions entered the hills and traversed the rugged glens and valleys from Sir Charles Napier in 1845 to Sir Charles MacGregor in 1880, at the close of the Afghan War; and in 1883 a force of about 2,000 men under General Kennedy penetrated the wild gorges of the Takht-i-Suliman—11,000 feet in elevation—so-called because King Solomon when adding to his many wives a Rajput, Lady Balkis, in crossing this range in his aeroplane, alighted on the peak to permit the lady to gaze once again on her beloved country. The object of the expedition was to enable a survey party under Major (now Sir) Thomas Holdich to visit the peak and map the surroundings which that officer succeeded in doing in the depth of winter, escorted by a detachment under Colonel C. S. Maclean.

Meantime Baluchistan had been included in the

British Empire, and the Quettah cantonment established. Railways and motor roads now traverse these regions, and local Khasadars under British officers guard the roads.

It is well known that the Punjab and Sind Authorities differed in their opinions as to what they considered the best way of dealing with turbulent frontier tribes. So when the Punjab was annexed it was decided to to mark the boundary line between the two provinces with masonry pillars across from the Indus to the foot of the hills. A demarcation party, consisting of the Assistant Commissioner Lieut. (later Colonel) E.G. Wace on the part of the Punjab Government, a Sind Native Official, and Lieut. (later Colonel) S. Macdonald, Survey Officer, was directed to proceed to the spot and mark the boundary, but to get it done as quickly as possible, as Baluch raids were still frequent. A strong cavalry escort accompanied the party. A few miles north east of the Sindi town of Kashmiro, a masonry canal branched off from the right bank of the river and irrigated lands of Kashmir and other villages.

It was decided to fix a pillar at the head of this canal, and another almost due west of it on a hill above a well known spring of water much used by raiders. The boundary to be a straight line between the two pillars. The positions of the two pillars were marked on a small scale map of the district, the only one available. The provincial boundary fixed over the broad bed of the river, some three to four miles wide, was a straight line produced from the line connecting

the two pillars. The boundary line ran through the location of the Mazari Baluch tribe whose chief , Iman Baksh Khan had with his tribe often rendered good service to the civil and military authorities after they had given up their habits. As a reward all Mazari lands lying on the Punjab side of the boundary were given as Jaghir to Iman Buksh Khan that is rent free, whereas the usual land rent or tax was levied on the fields in Sind, that is south of the line. Some ten or twelve years after the pillars had been built the right bank of the river encroached on the *pat* or high land, cutting away a slice of about twenty miles in length and in parts, four or five miles in breadth, sweeping away some villages and all land marks, including the pillar and head of canal. The run of the canal being south west and the river south, the head of the section of canal remaining was now some two to three miles south west of the former head. When the river changed course again a considerable area had been taken from the high, almost barren, land and added to the alluvial land beneath the bank. In the disputes that followed as to rights over this now rich area, Iman Buksh insisted on his right to all land north of a line from the hill pillar to the present head of the masonry canal, continued across the river, which, with the former line, formed a triangle enclosing several hundred acres of cultivation. For the next twenty years the question came up for discussion at intervals. The Sind Authorities sent up officials to dispose of it, but in the absence of all land-marks for miles nothing was decided. One Indian

engineer from Sind made matters worse by placing more pillars along the line claimed by the Nawab. In 1883-4 Colonel Wace, now Settlement Commissioner of the Punjab, directed me to go and see if I could accurately fix the position on which the head of the masonry canal stood when the first pillar was erected. Having examined all papers on the subject I went by train to the nearest railway station. On arrival I noticed several well dressed Baluchis on the platform, and a fine body of Baluch cavalry in chain armour alongside, and asked the railway conductor if the Commissioner was expected or some other prominent official. As I alighted the Baluchis came and asked if I was the Survey Officer come to settle the boundary. Then pipes and drums started, I was led to a richly caparisoned horse and surrounded, taken off to the Dak Bungalow, where a bath, dinner, champagne and cigars from the favourite brand of the Nawab of Bahawalpur, awaited me. Next morning I was conducted in state on the way across the Indus ; at each of three water channels a beflagged boat awaited me, and I was conducted in state to the camp of Mr. Younghusband, I.C.S., the Assistant Commissioner of the district, one of the since famous family.

In one of the reports on the boundary it was stated that the pillar fixed at the head of the masonry canal was a certain bearing and distance from a trigonometrical Survey Station—since washed away—of which, of course, the lat. and long. were known, which settled the difficulty. The Nawab was away at Simla, where

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